BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER
Edited by the Librarian

VOL. 41 SEPTEMBER, 1958 No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS

THE CRAWFORD MUNIMENTS

THE Earl of Crawford and Balcarres has made a further addition to the family muniments which he has already deposited in the Library. Numbering over 2,500 items, it consists mainly of family correspondence and papers relating to the children and grandchildren of James, 5th Earl of Balcarres (d. 1768), the largest groups concerning Lady Anne Lindsay (later Barnard), his eldest daughter, her brother the Hon. Robert Lindsay, and the latter's son Lieutenant-General James Lindsay.

The numerous friendships which Lady Anne Lindsay made among literary and political figures at the end of the eighteenth century are reflected in these letters and papers. They contain, for example, materials relating to her friendship with the Prince of Wales, including items indicating her hopes that she might help to reconcile him with his father, George III; many letters mention this quarrel and its effect upon Government, the political alliances, the ministries and the Catholic question. Lady Anne was also a close friend of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville and included are a group of over fifty letters of his from correspondents such as the Earl of Moira, leader of the Carlton House party, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and Lady Elizabeth Foster. Others of her letters refer to Lady Hamilton, Edmund Burke—letters of Burke himself and his wife are also included—and the tour to Belgium, Holland and France she made in 1784 with Mrs. Fitzherbert; two notebooks of "Parisian Anecdotes" concerning this tour have already been deposited. Letters from Sir Thomas Lawrence suggest that Lady Anne may

have helped the artist to obtain the patronage of the Prince Regent. A number of informative letters written from the Cape of Good Hope supplement materials already received relating to these years of her life, among them the holograph Journals respecting her voyage and residence there; she accompanied her husband Andrew Barnard to the Cape in 1797 where he was Colonial Secretary under Lord Macartney. The present accession also contains materials relating to the years after their return to England (1803) and Mr. Barnard's voyage out again in 1807 as secretary to Lord Caledon. Drafts and copies for her Memoirs also occur and there is evidence of the care she took to ensure their accuracy; she notes that, though she had destroyed some of her correspondence, she included in the Memoirs all she considered of importance from it. There are many groups of letters exchanged by her with members of her family, notably her nephew Lord Lindsay (afterwards 24th Earl of Crawford), his wife Maria, née Pennington, her brother the Hon. Robert Lindsay, his son James, and her sister Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Hardwicke, whose husband was Lord Lieutenant and Viceroy of Ireland, 1801-6. There are, too, letters written by Lady Elizabeth to the family of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, with whom the Lindsays were doubly related by marriage.

A considerable portion of the Dick correspondence is addressed to the Hon. Robert Lindsay. The Hon. Robert was in the service of the East India Company from 1772 to 1788 and the collection contains a Letter-Book (1784-6) concerning his trading enterprises in India. Most of the materials, however, date from the years after his return, when he lived at Balcarres. Over 500 letters and papers relate to business affairs and family settlements, many being from his brother, the 6th Earl. A smaller group contains letters from the firm of Messrs. Colvin, Bazett and Co. of Calcutta, 1786-1821, which acted for him in India where he continued to own property and engage in trading. His family correspondence also includes letters from his brothers, Charles, Bishop of Kildare, and the Hon. Hugh Primrose Lindsay, a director of the East India Company, and from the Earl and Countess of Hardwicke. Many of these also corresponded with his eldest son Lieutenant-General James Lindsay, who is

represented by substantial blocks of letters from his sisters, Anne Lindsay and Mrs. Cecilia Head, and from relations of his second wife Anne, daughter of Sir Coutts Trotter.

In addition to the correspondence of Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres with his brother Robert, already mentioned, there are over 100 items respecting the Crawford Peerage Claim. On the death of George, 22nd Earl of Crawford in 1808, Lord Balcarres became Earl of Crawford *de jure*, although he never assumed the title. The earldom was confirmed to his eldest son, James, in 1848 by the decision of the House of Lords. Alexander served with the army and a roll of his accounts (1793-4) as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Jersey is in the collection, together with letters respecting his years as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica (1794-1801), among them letters to his sister, the Countess of Hardwicke, and to her husband.

Other additions have been made to the Department of Manuscripts by donation and purchase, the last with the assistance of the Pilgrim Trust.

THE CLINTON PAPERS

In June was acquired a large portion of the family papers of the Clintons of Ashley Clinton, Hants., dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and including an extensive collection of the military correspondence and records of Sir William Henry Clinton (d. 1846) and Sir Henry Clinton (d. 1829). Sons of Major-General Sir Henry Clinton (d. 1795) [1], Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America during the War of Independence, both brothers held the rank of General in the British Army and both played important rôles in the Napoleonic wars. Sir William Henry took part in the Flemish campaign of 1793, was Governor of Madeira from 1801 to 1802 and became in 1803 military secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. In 1812 and 1813 he served in Sicily and Spain, being in the latter

[1] His father, Admiral George Clinton (d. 1761), was the younger son of the 6th, brother of the 7th and uncle of the 8th and 9th Earls of Lincoln. From 1757 until his death Admiral Clinton was the senior flag officer of the navy and from 1741 to 1753 Governor of New York.

country in command of the allied army on the east coast. From 1826 to 1828 he commanded the British forces in Portugal and from 1825 to 1829 was Lieutenant-General of Ordnance. His younger brother, Henry, was military attaché with the Russian army in Italy and in the Austerlitz campaign, served in India from 1802 to 1805, and from December 1806 to November 1807 was Commandant at Syracuse. About this time he made the acquaintance of Sir John Moore, accompanying him to Sweden and Portugal as Adjutant-General, a position he also held throughout Moore's advance into Spain and retreat to Corunna. In October 1811 he joined Wellington and commanded the 6th Division in the Peninsular War, where he served until 1814. When Napoleon escaped from Elba, Clinton's services were specially requested by Wellington and he commanded the 3rd Division at Waterloo.

The survey which follows, necessarily a preliminary one, as the collection has been so recently acquired, is limited to the military correspondence and papers. The main groups—there are other military records which fall outside them—relate to the Peninsular War ; the two wars in Portugal, that against Napoleon in 1808-9 and that following the death of King John VI in 1826 ; Sicily, 1806-8 ; and India, 1803-4 ; with other materials respecting the struggle against the French in the Low Countries.

THE PENINSULAR WAR

The Peninsular War is, of course, already well documented, but the present collection can hardly fail to add material of value, originating as it does with two officers so closely associated with it. The correspondence relating to the campaign, in originals, drafts and Letter-Books, is extensive. It includes thirty-eight letters of Wellington (others of his letters are referred to below), a bundle of his dispatches to Henry Clinton, correspondence exchanged by the Secretary for War (Bathurst) and leading commanders such as Lord William Bentinck, Maitland, Murray and Clinton, and letters dealing with the course of the fighting, troop movements and the exchange of prisoners. Among the Letter-Books are volumes containing military correspondence of both Henry and William Henry Clinton and of Generals Campbell, Murray

and Maitland, of which one contains letters of William Henry Clinton to Wellington. The papers, which number several thousands, include intelligence reports from English and Spanish agents, ordnance and other returns, documents respecting the equipment and provisioning of the English and Spanish forces, reports on the progress of the campaign and the state of the armies, returns of killed, wounded and missing, with medical and hospital reports, private memoranda, maps and plans, and bundles of printed proclamations. As one might expect from the command held by William Henry Clinton there are many records and papers respecting activities on the east coast of Spain between 1812 and 1815.

Some of the Letter-Books and Order Books started during the Peninsular campaign continue beyond it and deal with the army in the Low Countries during the final struggle with Napoleon, while among the papers are several relating to the Waterloo campaign and the army of occupation in France in 1817 and 1818. Both the Clinton brothers were indefatigable letter-writers, absorbed in all things military, and even their letters to their wives read more like official reports than domestic correspondence. There are, for example, some informative letters written by the elder brother to his wife [1] between 1812 and 1814 and, perhaps even more interesting, fifteen letters from Sir Henry to Lady Susan Clinton [2] written immediately before and after (16 June—16 July 1815) Waterloo.

THE PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN, 1808-9

The Portuguese campaign of 1808-9, in which Henry Clinton was Adjutant-General to Sir John Moore, is covered by an equally wide range of documents, from the landing to the retreat. The correspondence, in English, Spanish and Portuguese, is numerous and includes letters to the Commander-in-Chief and to Clinton on the many aspects of the campaign from, for example, Sir David Baird (Moore's Second-in-Command in Spain) and Generals Beresford, Disney, Stewart, Murray, Paget, Fraser,

[1] William Henry Clinton married, in 1797, Lady Louisa Dorothea Holroyd, daughter of the 1st Earl of Sheffield.

[2] Daughter of Lord Elcho. They were married in 1799.

John Hope and Sir Arthur Wellesley (as he then was, September 1808). Three letters of Sir John Moore to Clinton (August 1808), have so far come to light ; others, as noted below, occur elsewhere in the collection. Not the least interesting are the letters exchanged by the Clinton brothers in 1808. Wherever they were on military service they always found time to inform each other, generally at great length, as to what was happening and likely to happen. The Letter-Books include volumes of " General Officers and Departmental Letters " (August 1808—January 1809), " Letters to Assistant Adjutant-Generals of Divisions and Regimental Officers " (August—December 1808), and letters, confidential and otherwise, of Henry Clinton written from various Headquarters in 1808. Among the miscellaneous papers are reports on the state of the forces under Dalrymple, Wellesley and others, documents relating to staff appointments, the sick, French deserters, equipment, pay, casualties, and embarkation, to quote only a few of the subjects represented. They also include " A few Remarks explanatory of the Motives which guided the Operations of the British Army during the late short campaign in Spain, By Brigadier-General Henry Clinton, Adjutant-General to the Army late under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B." (a draft report) and " Sir Hew Dalrymple's Narrative " (to the Court of Inquiry summoned after the Convention of Cintra respecting his conduct during his command in Portugal).

The papers relating to Sicily and India are less numerous than those concerning the campaigns mentioned above or those relating to the Portuguese campaign of 1826-8 dealt with below. As regards Sicily, the correspondence includes fourteen letters from Sir John Moore, who held the Mediterranean command, to Colonel Clinton written from Messina in 1807, a Letter-Book of Clinton in English and Italian (December 1806—October 1807), and a series of detailed letters from Henry Clinton to his brother dating between November 1806 and December 1807, some extending to a dozen pages. Into this section has strayed a bundle of nineteen private letters from Lord William Bentinck, Commander-in-Chief

SICILY, 1806-8

of the British Forces in Sicily, addressed to Major-General William Henry Clinton between July and September 1812. Henry Clinton commanded the Flank Battalion of the Guards stationed at Syracuse and four volumes of "General Orders of the Flank Battalion of the 1st Foot Guards" (July 1806—January 1808) also occur, together with other volumes containing Garrison Orders (March—October 1807) and Brigade and Battalion Orders (October—December 1807). Another item which may be selected for mention is a Journal which Henry kept between August 1806 and December 1807.

The bulk of the Indian papers consists of military correspondence (some 200 items), exchanged at various levels but mostly addressed to Henry Clinton as Adjutant-General between 1803 and 1804, relating to hostilities and to the organization, movement and equipment of troops. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Gerard Lake, is represented by twenty-six letters (July 1803—November 1804); inserted are a number of Clinton's draft replies. A block of correspondence of Lieutenant-Colonel Vandeleur, who distinguished himself during the Peninsular War and in India and later commanded a Cavalry Brigade at Waterloo, occurs among letters and papers concerning the campaign of 1804 and the Clintons themselves are again found exchanging information at length, sometimes in cipher. There are thirty such letters here, written by Henry between April 1803 and September 1805 to his brother, then Secretary to the Duke of York, at the Horse Guards, London; they fill 170 pages. This section also contains some strays of later date, one a letter from Combermere, Commander-in-Chief in India, written from Calcutta to Sir William Henry Clinton as Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, 30 August 1829. Among miscellaneous records are documents respecting the Horse Artillery at Bengal, arms, equipment and exercises, Minutes of Lord William Bentinck when Governor of Madras dealing with the instruction of gentlemen cadets, and a paper headed "Statements and Facts Arising out of Verbal and Written Evidences Respecting the Battle of Laswaree, 1

INDIA, 1803-4

November 1803 . . . delivered from the Board of Gen^{L}. Officers to the Duke of York ".

THE PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN, 1826-8

In the troubles which followed the death of King John VI and the publication of the " Charter of 1826 " Canning, on an appeal from the government for English aid, dispatched a force of 5,000 men to Portugal to maintain order and, in December, Sir William Henry Clinton was given the command. His correspondence and papers relating to this campaign form one of the largest single groups in the present aquisition and one of the widest in range, beginning with the documents relating to his appointment and ending with the latter part of 1828 ; his force left Portugal in April of that year. The correspondence is of considerable interest, but too miscellaneous to be described in brief. Among the larger groupings may be mentioned well over 200 draft letters and dispatches in his hand, written at Lisbon and Coimbra between 1826 and 1828, to, among others, Goderich (the Prime Minister), Bathurst (Secretary for War), William à Court (the Ambassador to Portugal), Wellington, Huskisson (Colonial Secretary), Bisset (Commissary-General) and other English and Portuguese ministers and commanders. The British Ambassador himself is represented by some 115 letters, written to Clinton from Lisbon in 1827. There are, too, over 100 letters from Clinton to his brother Sir Henry (1827-8), as full and informative as those mentioned above in other connections, and a smaller group addressed to his son, Captain Clinton of the Grenadier Guards, in 1827. These may be supplemented by the Letter-Books, of which there are four volumes in Clinton's own hand (December 1826—August 1828) and others containing copies of his letters (January 1827—May 1828). The papers are equally extensive—commissariat papers, in English and Portuguese, of General Bisset, financial records, returns of all kinds, " Weekly States of the Forces in Portugal " (January 1827—March 1828), private memoranda, documents respecting equipment, provisioning, general administration, disorders among the troops, and other varied aspects of the campaign. Among reports forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief is one of Colonel

Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Commander of the Engineers in Portugal, on the encampment of the army, with his plan attached. There is, too, a quantity of printed materials in English and Portuguese.

The above does not exhaust the military side of the Clinton Papers, for, among other such materials elsewhere in the collection, are, for example, five volumes of accounts of army agents (1791-1832), a volume of original letters from agents relating to the 55th Regiment, a Letter-Book of the 3rd Regiment of Foot (1820-9), and other accounts and returns. In this connection, too, should be mentioned a Journal kept, in peace and in war, by Sir William Henry Clinton between August 1786 and December 1845 (he died some two months later). It extends to 101 volumes and has some thousands of original letters inserted between its pages. Reference has already been made to letters exchanged by the two Clinton brothers from various theatres of war. There are many hundreds of other letters which they wrote to one another between the 1790s and the mid-1820s in which military as well as political, personal, social and business affairs are discussed. Intermingled with these are military records which there has not yet been time to sort. It is hoped to survey them in later numbers of the BULLETIN together with the non-military material. This comprises a large collection of family correspondence including letters from Lady Louisa Clinton to her sister Lady Maria Stanley, correspondence of the Stanleys of Alderley, letters of Lord Sheffield, a Journal of Harriet Clinton (1788-9), and other letters of the Clintons, of the Chester family into which Harriet married, and of their friends and acquaintances.

THE HOLMAN HUNT PAPERS

Also in June the Library acquired by purchase 250 letters, two private diaries and other papers of William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), an original member and one of the most important figures of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The collection formerly belonged to the painter's only grandchild, Mrs. David Cuthbert. Holman Hunt had a wide range of correspondents and his lengthy and interesting letters are a source of value both for the student of the Victorian

period and for the historian of English painting. The present acquisition, which extends from 1843 to his death, is rich in comments on and accounts of the progress, artistic and financial, of his works, including some of the most famous of them, notably "The Hireling Shepherd", "The Light of the World", "The Awakening Conscience", "The Scapegoat"—he gives an explanation of its significance—"The Shadow of Death", "The Triumph of the Innocents" and "May Morning on Magdalen Tower".[1]

The letters are also of interest for their references to contemporaries, such as Millais, Tennyson, Maclise, the sculptor Woolner and, more briefly, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and for their comments on the Royal Academy. One group of forty-nine is addressed to Holman Hunt's close friend Edward Lear, the painter and writer of "nonsense verse". They begin in 1852, the year in which the two were first made acquainted by Robert Martineau, who is also represented in the correspondence. In one of his letters to Lear (April 1869) Holman Hunt records that he had "turned out an old desk with old papers of my youth up to the time I went abroad" and destroyed them all "so that no biographer might get hold of them in future years", for "as I read [them] and was thus reminded of the awful difficulties I had to get bread to put into my mouth—and of the not smaller difficulty I had in striving to conquer the defects of the insufficient education of my boyhood for the new position I had to fit myself for—I was overcome with a feeling of intense pity for the poor wretch of ten years ago". Another group, thirty-five in number, was written to Thomas Combe of the Clarendon Press at Oxford, for many years one of his friends and patrons, while other correspondents include Millais, Coventry Patmore, W. M. Rossetti and Ruskin. The letters to Millais, one of which is illustrated by pen-and-ink sketches, are of particular value for the artist's views on English and French art and for their account of his experiences in the Middle East.

Among family letters are sixty-five from Holman Hunt to

[1] "The Hireling Shepherd", "The Shadow of Death", the smaller version of "The Scapegoat" and the original sketch for "The Light of the World" now form part of the collection of Pre-Raphaelite paintings in the Manchester City Art Gallery.

his second wife, written between March 1876 and October 1899, mostly from Jerusalem. They are filled with intimate details regarding his daily life and work and contain first-hand reports on the unsettled political situation there. He visited the Middle East in connection with his paintings on three occasions, in the mid-1850s, in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and from 1875 to 1878. As already indicated, much light is thrown on the third visit by the correspondence in this collection. The private diaries, which cover the months from February to December 1855 and January to July 1872 respectively, relate to the two earlier visits and his work on "The Scapegoat" and "The Shadow of Death", his most important paintings of those periods. There is also a narrative account in his hand of a journey, made in connection with the former work, to the southern end of the Dead Sea in 1854 which supplements the information he gives in his *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, published in 1905.

LETTERS OF JAMES HUTTON (1715-95)

Among its English and German manuscripts the Library has the collections relating to the Moravian Brethren brought together over a period of many years by the Moravian scholar the Reverend J. N. Libbey. Comprehensive though they are, as regards both this country and the continent, they do not contain any holographs of the founder of the Moravian church in England, James Hutton (1715-95), although they include transcripts of materials concerning him. This omission has now been made good by the acquisition of fourteen of his letters, written to his "good, dear friend" Miss Cooper in the West Country (mostly at Bath) and in London between August 1774 and December 1784. Apart from expressions of his religious views, they contain frank comments on affairs in Parliament, in North America and on the Continent, references to his family and relatives and to, among others, Franklin, Lord Bristol, Lord Bute and, particularly, Jean Deluc (Reader to Queen Charlotte), a description of a meeting with the Queen's brother in 1774, and an account of the Moravian mission in Labrador (November, 1783). Among books which he has been reading and recommends it is interesting to note " my favourite Fénélon,

the best of Frenchmen ". Two of the letters (30 November and 5 December 1778) were written on the death of his wife Louise, to whom he had been married for thirty-eight years. Those concerned with his biography or with Moravian history may find the following extract from the second not without relevance : " I have much to do before I can think of quite quitting my present abode ; thousands and ten thousands of Papers to look over and sort and destroy and select, for I am Paper Covetous, and yet I must destroy".

LETTERS OF DR. PHILIP DODDRIDGE (1702-51)

To the materials available for the student of nonconformity have also been added forty-six letters of Dr. Philip Doddridge (1702-51). Addressed to Mercy Maris, whom he married in December 1730, they were written between 2 October 1730 and 12 June 1751. Certain of them were used in *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D.*, which was edited " from the Original MSS." by his great-grandson John Doddridge Humphreys and published, in five volumes, between 1829 and 1831. This, however, hardly detracts from their interest as sources. Humphreys has been criticized for his editorial methods, a criticism to which support is lent by a comparison between these letters and the text of them which he provides. It reveals that he has on some fifty occasions omitted, without any indication, passages several lines in length ; more frequently still he has altered words and phrases, and in numerous other places added words and even sentences which do not occur in the originals. These omissions, additions, emendations and interpolations are marked in pencil on the letters recently acquired, which were, in fact, used as printer's " copy ". With Doddridge's letters to his wife came a letter to him from Colonel James Gardiner (October 1742), whose *Life* he wrote and whose death—he was mortally wounded at Prestonpans—he commemorated in a sermon and verses.

THE HEALD PAPERS

Through Miss W. D. Coates, Registrar of the National Register of Archives, we have received from Dr. C. B. Heald the donation of a collection of Heald family papers, consisting of 400 letters, five volumes of letter-books and six volumes of diaries. The bulk relates to Walter

Heald, who went to South America in April 1866, to his wife Emily Isabel (Krabbé), whom he met there, and to the business firm of Krabbé, Higgins and Co. of Buenos Aires. Most of the correspondence consists of business letters from this country and from South America written and received by Walter Heald, who seems to have acted as representative of the firm just mentioned; they range in date from 1884 to 1911. With them are a number of family letters, Heald's private diary in four volumes (1866-70), written during his voyage to and residence in Buenos Aires, and the diary of his future wife in two volumes, kept at Quinta between January 1869 and June 1871.

PRINTED BOOKS: ACCESSIONS BY PURCHASE

Among recently acquired printed books are several purchased with the aid of the fund created by the Pilgrim Trust and designed to fill gaps in the Library's collections in various fields. Among them are an incunable and one English sixteenth century book. The former is a copy of the edition of the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, printed in Lyons, with the date 23 January 1483, by Petrus Ungarus, who, later in the year, collaborated with Mathias Huss in printing a beautiful illustrated edition of a French translation of the same work. The Library now possesses nine fifteenth-century editions of the Latin text of this most popular work of the Middle Ages, and a copy of the French translation printed at Lyons by Bartholomé Buyer in 1476, while of the Dutch translation printed at Gouda by Gerhard Leeu it has copies of volume 1 of the 1478 edition and of volume 2 of the 1480 edition. It is richest, however, in editions of the English translation made by William Caxton. Of the two editions from Caxton's press there are two copies of the first, printed not earlier than 20 November 1483, and a fragment of two leaves of the second, [1487 ?], while there is also a copy of each of the editions printed by Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, dated respectively 20 May 1493, and 8 January 1498.

An interesting acquisition from the sixteenth century is Napier (J.), *A plaine discouery of the whole Reuelation of Saint John*, 1593, (STC 18354). This is the only non-mathematical work by John Napier, laird of Merchiston, inventor of logarithms

and of " numeration by little rods ", familiarly known as " Napier's bones ". He was impelled to write the present book because he " was so moved in admiration against the blindness of papists that could not most evidently see their seven-hilled city of Rome painted out there so lively by St. John ". It was printed by Robert Waldegrave, the Puritan printer of the Marprelate tracts, who settled in Edinburgh in 1590 and practised his trade there until 1603.

The Library's collection of late seventeenth-century religious and political controversial tracts is a strong one, and, augmented by the English pamphlets deposited by the Earl of Crawford and the Midgley collection of Quaker literature deposited by the Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, is of considerable importance. Some 200 pamphlets have recently been added to this collection, including such items as Bishop Burnet's *Vindication of the authority, constitution and laws of the Church and state of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1673 (Wing/B5938). Burnet, who before the age of thirty had been appointed professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow and had had the refusal of four bishoprics, made himself still more acceptable to the higher powers by maintaining, in this book, the cause of episcopacy and the illegality of resistance. Other acquisitions include William Hughes, *The man of sin*, 1677, (Wing/H3343), and other anti-popery pamphlets, J. Durel, *A view of the government of . . . the reformed churches beyond the seas*, 1662, (Wing/D2695), and, among Quaker material, Francis Howgill, *Oaths no Gospel ordinance*, 1666, (Wing/H3174), T. Bennet, *A confutation of Quakerism*, 1705, and *An epistle of love and friendly advice to Friends . . . in and about . . . London*, 1729. One folio volume contains much material relating to the trials following on the Popish plot of 1680. It contains twenty-six items, consisting of Acts of Parliament, informations laid in the House of Commons against Robert Jennison and other Jesuits, articles of impeachment and other proceedings relating to Sir William Scroggs, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the report of the Committee for receiving information regarding the Popish Plot, and a collection of speeches and debates relating to the Plot delivered in the House of Commons in 1681.

Also included are two broadside lists of members returned to Parliament, one for 1679 (Wing/L2452) and one for 1681 (Wing/O857).

A notable acquisition as regards the history of typography is *The pattern of piety: or, tryals of patience. Being the most faithful Spiritual Songs of the life and death of the once afflicted Job*, Scarborough, 1734. Cotton in his *Typographical gazetteer*, s.v. Scarborough, writes: "In the year 1734 Thomas Gent, well-known printer and book-seller (and typographer) of York, printed at Scarborough *The life and death of Job*." The title Cotton gives to the volume is the sub-title of our volume, which is, therefore, the first book printed in Scarborough. No other book is known from Gent's Scarborough press, which, unlike his York establishment, met with no success.

At the end of a recently acquired Welsh volume, James Owen, *Trugaredd a barn*, Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig [i.e. Shrewsbury] gan Thomas Durston [1722], is an advertisement in English which illustrates the variety of the provincial bookseller's business in the early eighteenth century. It reads as follows:

ADVERTISEMENT. By *Thomas Durston* Printer and Bookseller in *Shoemaker Rowe* in *Shrewsbury*, you may be Furnished with all sorts of Books in Divinity, History, Law, Physick, Poetry, Mathematicks &c. Bibles and Com. Prayers of all sorts and sizes; all sorts of School Books, Account books, Pocket books, Ink-horns, Fountain Pens, Slates and Slate Books with Pencels, Wax, Wafers, Sand boxes, Standishes, Maps, Pictures, Spectacles, Skagareen Cases, Reading Glasses for all Ages, Burning Glasses, Red and Black led Pencels, Letter Cases, Prospectives; The best sort of Holman's Ink powder, Cake Ink, Iapan-Ink, Paper hangings for Rooms, Good Writing Paper of all Prizes, Baremans true Spirit of scurvy Grass both Golden and plain, Dr. Stoughtons Great Cordial Elixir for the Stomack, and the only true Prepared Daffy's Original and Famous Cordial Elixir. Stampt Paper and Parchment Bonds and Indentures for Apprentices.

Likewise sells all sorts of Flutes, Flagelets, Hoo Boys and Reeds; Super fine large and small Pip Cards fit for Gentleman and Ladies, and old Books you may have well bound at Reasonable Rates.

N.B. You may have Ready Money for any Study or Parcel of old Books.

Another recent purchase forms a pendant to the collection of nineteenth-century social reform material presented some years ago by Sir George Benson. It is a volume containing

several controversial periodical pamphlets of the 1830s. The first is a complete set of *A slap at the Church*, of which seventeen numbers appeared between 21 January and 13 May 1832. It consists of vigorous pleas in prose, verse and drawings for the reform of the Church of England. It is followed by all but one of the twenty-one numbers of the *Church examiner and ecclesiastical record* which pursued similar aims from 19 May to 1 December 1832. The remaining contents of the volumes are purely political. There is a run of fifty-four numbers of *Figaro in London* commencing with no. 1, 10 December 1831, and a small group of numbers, from 1835, of *The crisis, edited by Robert Owen and Robert Dale Owen.* The volume also contains the *Political letters* of William Carpenter, 1830-1. The author, who began life as an errand-boy, became a prolific writer on biblical and other subjects. He published the letters, each of which had a distinct title, to prove his point that not all publications containing news were necessarily subject to stamp duty. He was prosecuted in the court of exchequer where he conducted his own defence, was convicted and imprisoned in the King's bench.

CHAPBOOKS

Three volumes have been added to the Library's collection of chapbooks. Two of these together contain 84 chapbooks, each bearing at the head of the titlepage the words : *Cheap Repository.* Several have on the last page a list of chapbooks published in a particular year, either 1795 or 1796 ; others have lists showing the issues for a sequence of months within those two years. All have the imprint : *Sold by J. Marshall, (printer to the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts) No.* 17, *Queen Street, Cheapside, and No.* 4, *Aldermary Church Yard ; and R. White, Piccadilly, London. By S. Hazard, at Bath, and by all booksellers, newsmen, and Hawkers in Town and Country.* The lists are divided into three groups : Histories, Sunday Readings, and Poetry, and three chapbooks were issued on the first of each month, one from each group. The price depended on the number of pages ; for twenty-four pages it was " 1d½ ", for sixteen pages one penny, and for eight or four pages one halfpenny. " Great allowance " was promised to " Shopkeepers and Hawkers ;" in the case of penny items the

reduced price was " 4s. 6d. per 100.—2s. 6d. for 50.—1s. 6d. for 25 ". Each titlepage is adorned with a crude woodcut, and, rather surprisingly, many of the cheapest chapbooks, usually short poems, were illustrated with three or four additional woodcuts. The *Sunday Readings*, as their title suggests, were purely religious tracts—Bible stories as *The conversion of St. Paul* and *Onesimus, or the run-away servant converted*, explanations of *The ten commandments* (in three parts) or *The nature of baptism*, or exhortations to the Christian life as *Bear ye one another's burthens* or *The touchstone ; or the way to know a true Christian.* One of them, *Some new thoughts for the New Year*, was reissued by B. & J. Johnson in Philadelphia as no. 42, the last volume, of their series *Cheap repository*, a copy of which is to be found in the New York Public Library. The *Histories* are short stories emphasizing rather the consequences of vice than the rewards of virtue and a selection of their titles, *Mary Wood the Housemaid*, *The Cheapside apprentice*, *The gamester*, and *Black Giles the Poacher* indicate to whom they were addressed. For the most part they are anonymous and lacking in any pretensions to style but one, *The two shoemakers*, which ran to four parts, is attributed to Hannah More. The group described as *Poetry* is, however, of the greatest interest. Alongside a topical *Hymn of praise for the abundant harvest of* 1796 we find a versification of a classical story, *King Dionysius and Squire Damocles. The Election. A quite new song*, is a vigorous attack on malpractices at the hustings, while *The loyal sailor ; or no mutineering*, the only chapbook in the collection which is certainly later than 1796, is an account of the mutiny at the Nore. The third volume contains 15 chapbooks with the imprint : *Dublin ; Sold by William Watson, & Son, No.* 7, *Capel-Street*, who are similarly described as *Printers to the Cheap Repository.* They are offered to shopkeepers, chapmen and hawkers on equally advantageous terms, and several of them are reprints of items appearing in the London collection.

PRINTED BOOKS: ACCESSIONS BY GIFT

The gratitude of the Library is again due to Professor H. Hale Bellot. A recent donation consists of forty-two volumes, mainly relating to the history of this country and of France, together with a group of

books on the history and ethics of usury. Two of the earlier items are Gassend (P.), *The mirrour of true nobility . . . the life of N. C. Fabricius, Lord of Peiresk. Englished by W. Rand*, 1657 (Wing/G295); and an edition, probably published in 1770, of a work by the celebrated mathematician and optical instrument-maker Benjamin Martin, *The description and use of both the globes, the armillary sphere, and orrery.*

The Reverend Don Cleveland Norman has presented a copy of *The Saur Bible*, 1743, an addition of importance to the Library's Bible collection. Copies of two of the first three editions of the Bible printed in America are already in the Library. The price of £7,500 recently paid for the Chatsworth copy of the *Eliot Bible* has emphasized the importance of the first Bible printed in America, the Indian translation made by John Eliot, " the Apostle to the Indians ", and printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson at Cambridge, Mass., in 1661-3. Of this edition the Rylands copy came to the Library with the Spencer collection. A copy of the third Bible with an American imprint, the English Bible printed by Robert Aitken in 1781-2, was acquired by Mrs. Rylands before the Library opened. Mr. Norman's generosity enables us to place alongside these two rare volumes a copy, formerly in the possession of Mr. Henry Borneman, of the second American Bible, the edition of Luther's German translation which bears the imprint : *Germantown : Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur*, 1743. The printer Saur was born at Laasphe in Witgenstein in 1693, studied medicine at Halle, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1724, and settled in Germantown, now part of Philadelphia. In the same year he became a farmer in Lancaster County but in 1731 returned to Germantown where he practised medicine. Disturbed by the inability of German settlers to obtain reading matter in their native language, he persuaded Bible Societies in Germany to send copies of the Scriptures in German and of various religious books for their use. He urged, however, that the only satisfactory solution of the problem was the publication in America of books and papers in the German language, and circumstances enabled him to help meet this need himself. A group of German Baptists had subscribed a considerable sum of money for the purchase of religious

books and the provision of a printing press and types for the benefit of their poorer countrymen in America. Jacob Gaus, to whom the press was entrusted, was unequal to the task imposed on him, and it was only when the equipment came into the hands of Saur that it began to serve its true purpose. He brought in workmen from Germany and in 1736 produced the first American almanack in German. The first issue was of twelve pages but it rapidly gained popularity, and publication, in a more substantial form, was continued for forty years. In 1739 he commenced printing the first religious newspaper to appear in America, and also a German religious quarterly. Through these publications he launched the project of an American edition of the German Bible and appealed for assistance from his fellow-settlers and from friends in Germany. Most generous help came from a Frankfurt typefounder, Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, who, in return for a copy of the Bible when completed, presented Saur with a fount of type. Work commenced immediately the type reached Germantown and by 1743 the first American edition of the Bible in any European language was completed.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH SERIES OF RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES

The following is a list of the public lectures (the fifty-seventh series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1958-9 at 3 p.m. in the afternoon.

15 October 1958. "A Survey of Surviving Gutenberg Bibles." By Don Cleveland Norman.

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10 December 1958. "The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism." By Matthew Black, Principal of St. Mary's College and Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews.

14 January 1959. "New Plays of Menander." By E. G. Turner, Professor of Papyrology and Director of the Institute of Classical Studies in the University of London.

11 February 1959. "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion."

By Harold H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

11 March 1959. "The Conclusion of Virgil's *Aenid*: A Study of Books XI and XII." By W. H. Semple, Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

29 April 1959. "The Franciscans in Provence in the Middle Ages." By J. R. H. Moorman, Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral.

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The following is a list of recent Library Publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest issue of the BULLETIN (March 1958):

"The Historical Setting of the 'War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness'." By K. M. T. Atkinson, Reader in Ancient History in the Queen's University of Belfast. 8vo, pp. 26. Price three shillings net.

"Samaritan Studies." By John Bowman, Head of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Leeds. 8vo, pp. 30. Price three shillings net.

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"The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou, 1452-3." By A. R. Myers, Senior Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Liverpool. 8vo, pp. 75. Price eight shillings and sixpence net.

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"The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with Especial Reference to Goodenough's Work on Jewish Symbols." By Morton Smith, Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. 8vo, pp. 40. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

"King Arthur's Sword or the Making of a Medieval Romance." By Eugène Vinaver, Professor of French Language and

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"A Dated Tenth Century Hebrew Parchment Fragment from the Cairo Genīzah in the Gaster Collection in the John Rylands Library." By M. Wallenstein, Senior Lecturer in Medieval and Modern Hebrew in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 8, with one plate. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

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In addition to these donations many learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT IN RECENT STUDY [1]

By E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., F.B.A.
CHICHELE PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

TWO years ago at the International Historical Congress in Rome (1955), I heard a well-known professor refer contentedly to the Conciliar Movement as "un petit nuage sur l'horizon". A little cloud the size of a man's hand, it may be recalled, sent Elijah running before Ahab's chariot to the entrance of Jezreel. King and prophet had to make their best paces before the oncoming storm.

It was the king, not the priest, who came off best as the result of the councils. Such is the opinion of Mgr. Hubert Jedin, writing the introductory chapter to a celebrated work. The ultimate beneficiary of the Church councils of the fifteenth century was the modern state.[2] The failure of the councils to secure any general measure of reform left it to the local monarchs to make, through their own churches, bargains or compacts with the Holy See. The councils, therefore, Dr. Jedin regards as helping to establish the Renaissance monarchy. There are plenty of examples: the concordats made by the Papacy with the several nations at the end of the Council of Constance; the memoranda and discussions at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1444 showing the bargains which the German princes proposed to strike through their policy of neutrality;[3] the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and the later Concordat of Bologna between Leo X and Francis I (1516);[4] the Concordat of Vienna between Pope Nicholas V and the Emperor Frederick III in 1448.[5] Yet to

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of December, 1957.

[2] *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. A. Graf, i (1957), 21.

[3] See especially *Reichstagsakten*, VII, 2, i, nos. 165, 168, 175.

[4] A. Mercati, *Raccolta di Concordate tra la Santa Sede e le autorità civili* (1919), p. 233.

[5] Text in Altmann-Bernheim, *Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands*, p. 142. An English version is given in S. Z. Ehler and J. B. Morrall, *Church and State through the Centuries* (1954), pp. 125-31.

view thus in perspective the concordats and agreements made by the various secular powers with the Holy See should not be allowed to belittle the achievement of re-establishing unity in the Church, when it seemed so difficult to convene a council at all, nor the great and prolonged effort at producing measures of reform. The councils, whether they are judged to have failed or not, at least provided a European sounding-board for grievances felt within the Church, while the treatises and schemes they evoked have taken a permanent place in the literature of reforming thought.

Over twenty-five years ago in this same library I attempted to review some of those efforts and treatises from the English point of view.[1] It had long been the custom to undervalue this country's effort in the councils and to misjudge their importance on the grounds that they were a venture of the academic spirit in politics. Certainly, in so far as personnel is concerned, this view finds little support in recent studies. The dissertations of Dr. Christopher Crowder (Oxford, 1953) and Dr. A. N. E. D. Schofield (London, 1957)[2] on the English delegations at Constance and Basel respectively have shown that in the two carefully balanced and highly distinguished representative groups attending, academics by no means predominated, and that, as far as policy was concerned, the influence of the Crown, when exercised, and of the secular church at large was of much more significance. One may add that university representatives throughout the councils, however important individually, were in a minority in their nations. Active and vocal Paris professors, men like Simon Cramaud, Pierre d'Ailly or Jean Courtecuisse, leaders in the national councils of 1398 and 1406, were churchmen first and foremost, and if they expressed themselves in the terms of the schools, this was because such language was the normal vehicle of serious argument. If, however, it is meant that conciliarism failed because the thinkers of the movement lacked the experience enabling them to

[1] "Some English Documents of the Conciliar Movement", BULLETIN, xv (1931), 358 f. Dr. Ullmann has recently added important testimony on the attitude of Cambridge University to the Schism, *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser., ix. i (April, 1958).

[2] In doctoral theses so far unpublished.

understand how powerful was the weight of custom and vested interest both in the Roman Curia, in the exempt houses and the greater cathedral chapters, there is something in the contention ; so is there for the view long ago expressed by Dr. Neville Figgis, when he thought that the failure of the Conciliar Movement to restrain the Pope permanently or to further the growth of federalism in the Church provided a justification at once of the reformation and of ultramontanism :

> of ultramontanism on one side, for there must apparently have been some grounds for absolute monarchy either in the nature of political society or in the condition of the Christian Church, for the Papal monarchy to triumph in so overwhelming a fashion over a movement so reasonable and so respectable, supported by men of such learning as Gerson and Zabarella . . .

We now know more of the theoretical "grounds" ;[1] and more about the weakness and the strength of curial administration which the clergy were always criticizing but could not do without.

What Figgis perhaps did not fully realize was the complexity of the diplomatic situation within which the councils had to work, its far too inveterate character ; account has to be taken of the strength of the alliances formed by the two sides in the Anglo-French war ; the determination of the French kings to support the adventures of their cadets and relations in Italy, and the resolution with which the German monarchy under Sigismund set about asserting its function as advocate and protector of the Church, determined to put the word *sacrum* into *imperium* again.[2] Given these diplomatic constants, now more familiar through the work of French scholars like Noel Valois, Victor Martin, Edouard

[1] W. Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism* (1949), ch. iv, deals in particular with the plenitude of power. For a realistic assessment cf. its growth, cf. essays of Fr. Stickler and Mgr. Maccarrone in *Sacerdozio e Regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII*, ed. F. Kempf (Misc. Hist. Pont. xviii, Rome, 1954). For the canonist contribution, see especially Brian Tierney, "Ockham, the Conciliar Theory and the Canonists", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xv (1954), 40-70 and bibliography.

[2] Egged on by publicists like Dietrich of Niem, whose *Viridarium Imperatorum et Regum Romanorum* (ed. Lhotsky and Pivec, Stuttgart 1956) glorifies on historical grounds the position of the Emperor vis-à-vis the Church. For Dietrich's use of sources, cf. K. Pivec, "Das imperium in den Privilegien und im *Viridarium* ", *Neue Forschungen zu Dietrich von Niem* (with H. Heimpel), (Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen), 1957.

Perroy and Michel de Boüard, we have now a more proportioned picture of these international Councils established to restore the unity of the Head, the purity of the Faith and the reform of the Curia and the Church alike.

First, if they were not always inflamed by charity, the leaders of the council had both faith and hope. They believed that the Church had within itself the power to restore its own life and that that restoration came through an act of sovereignty derived from the consent of the faithful as a whole : and that that consent was conveyed through representatives meeting in a General Council. Of late a Cambridge graduate, Dr. Brian Tierney, has made a notable contribution to the history of Conciliar ideas by arguing that they sprang as much from the lawyers of the Church as from the professed theological publicists.[1] The emergence of the Schism, its long duration and the necessity for ending it, raised fundamental questions about the nature of the Church. Much of this speculation had been anticipated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Dr. Tierney shows from the glosses on the *Decretum* from Huguccio to Johannes Teutonicus and Bernard of Parma. Was the " Roman Church " to be identified with the whole body of the faithful ? Was it *ecclesia totius mundi* ? Or was it a particular local church having primacy over the others ? To Huguccio for instance it was clear that the Roman Church, understood as the Pope and the Curia, could not be the Church that was to endure for ever " unwavering in faith and unstained by sin ". The distinction can be found in Dietrich of Niem's first (1410) edition of his *De modis uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam in concilio universali*.[2] On the relations of Pope and Council, heresy is the one crime mentioned in the text of the *Decretum* justifying the punishment of the Pope by the Universal Church ; but notorious crimes might also go into the category of heresy, and the canonists of the last generation before the Councils treated many crimes as such. But the most interesting problem concerned the Pope and Cardinals ; for, as Huguccio

[1] *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, Cambridge, 1956. For the early decretist period, cf. John Watt, " The Early Medieval Canonists and the Formation of Conciliar Theory ", *Irish Theological Review*, xxiv (January, 1957), 1.

[2] Dietrich von Niem, *Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche, 1410*, ed. H. Heimpel (1933), p. 6.

concluded, during the vacancy of the Holy See the Cardinals might act as one, in place of a head.

In certain cases, when the Papacy was vacant, it was maintained that the Cardinals might summon a general council, and the *Glossa Palatina* goes as far as to assert that the Pope alone was actually incompetent to establish a general law for the whole Church, and that such enactments were valid only when approved by the Cardinals. It is important, as Dr. Tierney reminds his readers, to regard the speculations of the early canonists as speculations and as suggested principles for this or that case, not as authoritative opinions altering or modifying the law. And there are times when, perhaps, he may not himself have fully recognized the rather experimental, even exceptional, nature of the glosses. The most characteristic speculation, however, concerned the structure of a medieval ecclesiastical corporation.[1] Can corporations act when the rectors (as in the case of universities) are missing? Or where they are present, have the members as well the right to consent? With an ecclesiastical chapter, should the consent of the canons be required when any vital interest of the whole corporation was involved? Hostiensis thought so: in the matter of alienations, for instance, he pointed out that their special consent was necessary even in the case of property pertaining specially to a bishop, since bishop and chapter together formed a single corporate body which suffered as a whole from any loss.[2] Naturally the theory of the corporate unity of bishop and chapter raised difficulties. How was the consent to be expressed? Did it require the consent of all or of the *maior et senior pars*—and so forth. From the chapter, it was possible to advance to the theory of the whole Church as a corporation, and indeed the concept of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ did not frighten the canonists, since the idea of the *Corpus mysticum* had been associated with the definition of the Church as a *universitas fidelium*. In such a body, what should the position of the Pope be? Here one may recollect the view of Hostiensis that the head of a corporation was its principal part, enjoying an authority greater than that of any single member of the corporation, but not greater than that of all the members together.

[1] Tierney, ch. ii. [2] Tierney, pp. 122-3.

In the fourteenth century the conflict of figures in Church and State, Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, Lewis of Bavaria and John XXII aroused speculation about the doctrine of the plenitude of power and the jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff. One subtle and far-seeing publicist, John of Paris, maintained that the jurisdiction of a Pope was conferred by the whole Church, and several times asserted that the Cardinals acted on behalf of the Church. In general, his work, as Dr. Tierney rightly states, " provides by far the most consistent and complete formulation of Conciliar doctrine before the outbreak of the Great Schism ".[1]

This conclusion and many of the theories found in the Decretalists formed part of a corpus of liberal or " progressive " thought on the subject of authority in the Church which had been built up as the result of study or controversy. It was entirely loyal to the Papacy as an institution, but it was critical and " constitutional ", inclined, where reform was concerned, to start everything at the Curia itself, instead of with the chapters and corporations. That it should be used effectively and decisively when the Great Schism, dragging itself out, provided the occasion and the opportunity, is in great part due to the brilliant synthesizing mind of Cardinal Zabarella. It is the achievement of Dr. Walter Ullmann (for which all conciliar historians should be grateful) to have pointed in his book on the *Origins of the Great Schism* (1948), precisely to those passages in Zabarella which seem to have stressed the fundamental point that the Schism is a matter of faith, and that in dealing with such a context, the synod is greater than the Pope. He also calls attention to Zabarella's definition of the Roman Church as *non solus Papa sed ipse Papa cum cardinalibus, qui sunt partes corporis Papae* :[2] " Not only the Pope, but the Pope with the Cardinals who are part of the Pope's body." And, says Zabarella, " if there arises discord between Pope and Cardinals, it is necessary to convene the Church, i.e. the whole congregation of catholics and the principal ministers of the faith, the prelates, who represent the whole congregation ".[3] Zabarella, Dr. Tierney concludes, " was able to unite the discordant theories of the

[1] Tierney, p. 177. [2] Ullmann, op. cit. p. 203. [3] Ibid. p. 210.

earlier canonists by applying the concepts of corporation law not only to the relations between Pope and Cardinal but between Pope and Council, and also to the status of the Cardinals themselves in relation to the Universal Church ". Inspired by the urgent necessities of his own day, Zabarella had clothed the bare framework of Decretalist corporation theory with all the complex details of an integrated theory of Church government.[1]

Let us turn to the councils themselves. The printed authorities for the Council of Pisa are normally studied in the large volumes of Mansi (XXVII) and Martène and Durand. They are drawn mainly from epistolary sources and semi-official *Acta*. On the eve of the last war a friend and pupil of Heinrich Finke who like his master had worked long and fruitfully in the Crown archives of Aragon put the study of the council on a secure footing by re-editing, with new source material added, the hitherto unpublished version of the *Acta* made by three scholars, Erler, Finke himself and Schmitz-Kallenberg ; and by an analysis of letter-books and registers hitherto unused. Dr. Johannes Vincke's extracts from the letters mainly concern the preliminaries of the Council.[2] A register of " out " letters was kept by the seceding cardinals of Gregory XII, ever since the time when, wearied with the delays and procrastination of their master, they separated themselves from him and set up their headquarters, first at Livorno and later, with Florentine assent, at Pisa. Besides this register they kept another containing their letters of summons to the European powers and high church dignitaries ; a selection of the answers received from the summoned, and of the letters accrediting representatives to the forthcoming council at Pisa ; and a group of documents emanating from the Council itself, including a collection of proofs made for the process against Gregory and Benedict. These registers are for the most part preserved in three manuscripts in the Vatican library : Ottobono Codex III, Vatican Codex Latinus 4172 and its derivative 4171. In addition there are new examined registers nearly contemporary, preserved at Berlin, Danzig and at Eichstädt, and the very important

[1] Tierney, pp. 236-7.

[2] " Acta Concilii Pisani ", *Römische Quartalschrift*, 46 (1941), 1-331.

contemporary register of "out" letters from the Signory of Florence preserved in the *Archivio di Stato* there.[1]

These documents enable us to trace more clearly than before the resistance of both Gregory XII and Benedict XIII in 1408-9 to the proposed council and their determination, in response to the summons to Pisa issued by the Cardinals, each to hold a General Council on his own, Benedict at Perpignan, Gregory somewhere (though this was left vague) in northern Italy. Both pontiffs had considerable support, Gregory in King Rupert of Germany, in Hungary, in Venice and in Charles Malatesta at Rimini: Benedict in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile and among certain sections in France; as well as in Scotland. The letters show the cardinals striving to the utmost to convince the European powers that the council was necessary. They even asked the local collectors to finance the representatives of the ecclesiastical provinces in their district who were going to the forthcoming council: *provideatis de necessariis in suis expensis*,[2] for which sums, they blandly say, when unity has been achieved, we will make the new undoubted pontiff or his chamberlain or other relevant officials responsible. In other words, the local collectors were to put up the money for travelling expenses until the new régime had taken over. Florence, however, when asked to put up a thousand guilders replied that "considering we are in the obedience of Pope Gregory it does not appear honorable to make this innovation at present".[3] Meanwhile Cardinal Peter Philargi of Milan pressed the university of Paris to urge upon the French king that Gregory XII must resign. Letters also went out to the doge telling him of the cardinal's vain endeavours to secure an audience with Gregory XII.[4]

Fresh accounts are to be found of the approach to both the Popes by supporters of the Council. Benedict, surrounded by his cardinals, was interviewed at Perpignan on 6 November 1408. Four of the cardinals had originally written to him from Livorno, on 14 July, but no direct reply had been forthcoming. He gave his answer now on a paper document, replying that the letters just

[1] Johannes Vincke, *Briefe zum Pisanerkonzil* (*Beiträge zur Kirchen-und Rechtsgeschichte*, i, Bonn, 1940), pp. 8-10, 239, and nos. 18, 19.
[2] Vincke, p. 95-6. [3] Ibid. p. 97. [4] Ibid. pp. 101-2.

presented to him by William Sanhete on the cardinals' behalf contained much that was otherwise in fact. Benedict said that he proposed to answer the cardinals' missive and to deal with " other things pertaining to the unity of the Church " in a general council to be celebrated immediately.[1] The council was, in fact, celebrated. Gregory XII was more polite, but no less obstinate. The register records the visit to him at Rimini on 28 February 1409 of three envoys of Henry IV who were the king's accredited representatives at the Council of Pisa: they were the Abbot of Westminster; Sir John Colville, a king's knight already possessed of considerable diplomatic experience; and the papal auditor, Nicholas Risshton, a Lancashire diplomat much employed by Henry IV. Risshton was a product of Wykeham's school at Winchester, whence he passed to New College. He had been employed on difficult negotiations in the Low Countries in 1400-1.[2] The envoys were to persuade Gregory to come to the Council of Pisa and there resign. Colville began with an eloquent speech in Italian, a point specially noted by the Pope in his reply. The abbot then taking as his text *coadunate senes et congregate parvulos*, and " proceeding very deliberately and elegantly on the matter of union, exhorted the Lord Gregory to condescend to come to Pisa "; then the auditor, on the text *Audi nos domine*, " used many varieties of persuasive arguments in asking the lord Gregory to come to Pisa to the General Council and there renounce his right as the letters of Henry IV had urged him to do ". Gregory thanked the ambassadors for the speeches; after which he gave a long account of what had happened: how he had laboured for union and how he was originally disposed to go to Pisa: but his final resolve was that he would not go, " and this for several reasons which he professed himself ready to expound to the ambassadors orally or in writing ". And as regards his resignation or renunciation, he replied that all his intention was to reunite the Church of Christendom; " but because, as he said, God knows that it was not his responsibility that union had not been effected,

[1] Vincke, p. 117.

[2] For Risshton and Colville, see J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, iii. 369-73.

he therefore declared that a council must be celebrated which should contain all ways in itself (consider all methods of securing unity) and that the ambassadors should deem it a special grace given by God, if the general council to be lawfully summoned by him should take account of all expedients for union ".[1] Details of Henry IV's intervention have hitherto been lacking. It would be interesting to know if he or his ambassadors were acquainted with Gregory's discreditable sale of Papal lands to King Ladislas.

The ambassadors, not content with this, pressed him to answer Henry's inquiry : would he go to Pisa and resign ? He replied that when he had read the king's letter, he would readily reply. In fact he stalled, just like Benedict. He still had hopes of arousing sympathy. He wrote a letter to Bishops Hallum and Chichele, representatives of the province of Canterbury to the Council of Pisa,[2] to be received by them on the way. He had heard that they were going to the council, to prevent the Church of God being trodden underfoot by the iniquities of those already gathered at Pisa (i.e. the cardinals who had forsaken him). He asked them to inform themselves of the attitude taken up by the envoys of the king of Hungary, the doge of Venice, the orators of the king Rupert and by Charles Malatesta.[3] At the same time Gregory did not cease providing to sees and religious houses, and the cardinals had to inform the chapter of Ratisbon, for instance, that the see must not be filled for the time being.[4] The register shows that the Viennese representatives at Pisa were assiduous in reporting back to the university : in the end, after Alexander V had been elected, their letter to the University finished by describing

how the said supreme pontiff and the cardinals displayed favour towards the said university. And therefore our representatives have advised that as quickly as possible a roll (of graduates for promotion) should be sent to the Pope.[5]

Back to the old system of rolls and papal provisions ! All that can emerge from a council partly dedicated to reform is a return to the practice of petitioning the Curia which Dietrich of Niem was to criticize so severely at Constance.

[1] Vincke, pp. 175-6.

[2] For their commission, cf. ibid. pp. 135-8, which includes the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.

[3] Vincke, p. 193. [4] Ibid. p. 199. [5] Ibid. p. 208.

The publication of a text of the *Acta* from the earliest notaries' materials has given the Council of Pisa a clearer orientation. The Council can now be seen for what it was, a legal process conducted against the *contendentes* for the crime of schism which, because of its long duration, had passed into heresy. It is *causa scismatis et fidei*. In the early stages the advocates, the promoters and the notaries are formally nominated and approved for the case. The parties are *legitime requisiti, vocati et provocati ad causam*. The chief advocate, Simon of Perugia, asks, perhaps a little prematurely, *Deest igitur materia heresum?* [1] The promoters get all preliminaries and the documentary evidence together, produce evidence that the parties had been summoned: the envoy who had to present the summons to Gregory XII at Siena alleged that he could not serve it himself for fear of death, so deposited the letter on the high altar of the cathedral church.[2] At the third session the cardinals who had left Gregory at Lucca and had gone to Pisa presented a report (*relatio*) which was read by the Cardinal of Aquileia.[3] Thrice the contending parties were summoned at the entrance of the cathedral of Pisa, and after the third time the certificate of contumacy was affixed to the doors. Meanwhile the Cardinals adhering to the contendents were summoned and proceeded against, as contumacious also. At the fifth session the *libellus* containing an account of the measures taken by the contendents to hinder union was read in the Council.[4] Already a dissident element had appeared in the persons of the envoys of King Rupert of Germany, who presented a *memoriale* giving a pro-Gregory view, but did not urge that it should be immediately discussed.

It is clear that with the sixth session (30 April 1409) the main phase of the Council opened, introduced by the "notable sermon" of Robert Hallum in the pulpit of the cathedral, on the theme *Justicia et judicium praeparacio sedis eius*. The text was carefully chosen, Hallum said that he had come

nomine et pro parte dicti domini regis [Henry IV] et eciam dominorum prelatorum denique regni illius [England] et tocius ecclesie Anglicane cum sufficienti

[1] *Römische Quartalschrift* 46, p. 99. The other conciliar advocate appointed was Ardicino de Novara.

[2] Ibid. p. 107. [3] Ibid, p. 119. [4] Ibid. pp. 134-5.

et necessaria potestate ad omnia concernentia factum desiderate unionis et hoc presens concilium.

to do what it or the greater part of it should define and ordain

and that the supreme desire of the said lord king is that in this sacred business the council should proceed justly and lawfully and by practical means.[1]

Iuste et legitime ac modis utilibus. The next stage (24 April) accordingly was the examination of witnesses, and a large part of the notaries' accounts is given up to the *informaciones et probaciones super hiis que proposita et allegata fuerunt.* Various clerks with legal training were appointed for receiving the testimony and examining the witnesses, who are all carefully named. The English envoy of Henry IV, Dr. Nicholas Risshton, was one of those appointed.[2] He is here described as auditor of the sacred palace, canon of Salisbury. As a witness to the misdeeds of Gregory, Richard Dereham, chancellor of Cambridge, played a considerable part.[3] Each of the witnesses was questioned on the thirty-seven articles charged against the two contending popes, to which further articles were added, on 18 May and later.[4] Dereham testified to the charge of collusion between the two popes in refusing to repair to a common meeting-place : he was also present in the church of Lucca when Gregory created cardinals, but they, Dereham said, *a paucis ut cardinales reputabantur.* The names of the examining and examined are given with great care and only two other Englishmen can be traced as participating in the enquiry ; the Abbot of Westminster and Sir John Colville both gave evidence about Gregory's refusal to obey the summons.

The *Acta* are notarial minutes, business-like, with few attempts to judge the actors. Rupert's chief emissary, Ulrich, bishop of Verden, is however alleged to have stated in his address to the Council

aliqua minus vera in facto et in verbo capciosa, frivola, dolosa et scandalosa ad turbandum, impediendum et infamandum, quantum in eo fuit, sacrum concilium.

The bishop, without waiting for the answer which the canonist

[1] *Römische Quartalschrift*, p. 137.

[2] Ibid. pp. 142, 169. He sat with the abbot of Poggibonsi and fr. Thomas de Firmo, O.P.

[3] Ibid. pp. 231, 248, 257, 262. Risshton examined him on articles 10-17, 19, 20, 22-8.

[4] Ibid. pp. 184-5.

Petrus de Anchorano was about to give on behalf of the Council, " illicentiatus cum suis recessit ". The minutes are first and foremost concerned with propounding the legal procedure followed by the Council. Thus the amalgamation of the two colleges and the withdrawal of obedience from either pope had to be declared " canonical and legitimate " [1] (8th session), by the Patriarch of Alexandria (Simon Cramaud) and Bishop Robert Hallum, standing together in the same pulpit, before the Council could proceed to final verdict and sentence. Reform was relegated to the very end, and the only information given about it here is private and unofficial, from the 21st session on 27 July 1409. This amounted to very little : and it is possible that Henry IV's anxiety on this account may have been perfectly genuine.

The light cast upon the Council of Pisa by these registers is frontal and direct. More oblique a beam, though no less revealing, is thrown from central and eastern Europe upon the great assembly met at Constance from the late autumn of 1414 until the spring of 1418. Constance, famed for its decrees *Sacrosancta* and *Frequens* was the most populous and the most effective of the General Councils : effective not for what was finally concluded, but for the ventilation of grievances as well as of celebrated causes. That a really comprehensive programme of reform was not forthcoming, that in the end most of the *avisamenta* or recommendations of the reforming Committee had to be abbreviated and battened down into the concordats of the individual nations with the newly unified Papacy, are familiar facts : what is less known and hitherto has been less studied is the relation of the Council of Constance to the problems of central and eastern Europe, to the reforming movement which covered more than Bohemia, to the desire of the excluded for closer community with the West. The older Christendom is being looked at with critical eyes from a new angle. This is the position emerging from more recent studies of the intellectual and political agitation in central Europe in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The diplomatic scene is dominated by two great influences, the one familiar, though it has not been fully studied in its

[1] *Römische Quartalschrift* 46, p. 150.

general European bearings, the other little known, but of the highest importance; the Anglo-French war and the ferment in central and eastern Europe, all the country within or just without the Slavonic border-land. Political changes here are startling enough. The union of Poland and Lithuania under the Jagiellonian dynasty, the resistance offered by Poland to the Teutonic knights, the Hussite movement, the beginnings of the Muscovite kingdom after the defeat of the Tartars, all show that, in spite of internal disagreements between these Slavonic kingdoms, east-central Europe was consolidating itself and arresting the German pressure to the East. Poland and Bohemia were being lost to the Reich. Partly racial, partly religious causes were at work behind these assertions of Slavonic independence. Poland, though in no way disposed to unite with Bohemia, had similar grievances, social, economic and moral, against her existing régime. The administration of governmental affairs by the king and nobles became increasingly difficult as more and more taxes and services were pre-empted by wealthy monasteries and other Church foundations, and in Poland, as elsewhere, the problem of the apportionment of tithe was of great importance.[1] The ferment was not only political. It was a writer originating from Polish Cracow who voiced some of the sharpest criticisms of conditions within the Church before Hus arose in Bohemia. This was Matthew of Cracow who died in 1410; a prominent member of the University of Prague, an eminent preacher before Church synods, who wrote a discussion anticipating in certain respects the position of Hus, called *A Conflict of Reason and Conscience*, about the nature and use of the sacrament of the eucharist. More important was his pre-reformation tract (if indeed it was his) *De Squaloribus Romanae Curiae*, which castigates the abuses of simony, laxity of morals, and the introduction of unworthy candidates into the priesthood, raising doubts about the validity of their function as priests. Poland was much affected by the precursor of Hus in Bohemia, Mathias of Janow, who argued for the more frequent communion of the laity and more general direct study of the Bible.

[1] Margaret Slauch, "A Polish Vernacular Eulogy of Wyclif", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, viii, no. 1 (April, 1957), 55.

The orthodox theologians of Prague who were later to attack Hus were also known in Poland, especially at the University of Cracow where the famous Czech theologian Stefan Palecz was Professor (1418-22) and ended his life in Poland. Palecz had originally been an adherent of Hus, but was to pursue him fiercely after 1408. Wyclif's philosophy had a considerable influence in Cracow, especially the *De Universalibus*, which was a counter-blast to the nominalism of Ockham. Two manuscripts of the Wyclif text were preserved in the University library at Cracow.[1]

Professor Margaret Slauch of the University of Warsaw has printed a Polish vernacular eulogy of Wyclif by Master Andreas Galka of Dobczyn, an out-and-out Wycliffite in the middle of the fifteenth century. Cracow, Professor Slauch thinks, was the spot auspicious in the fostering of an iconoclastic thinker. On the one hand there was the knowledge of a successful egalitarian revolution, social and religious, in a neighbouring country by Hus's followers, which had strong ties of kinship with the Wycliffite Lollards and the poor priests; on the other hand consciousness of the division within the Church, the struggle of Pope against Councils. The grievances and the projects for reform discussed at Basel all favoured latitude of criticism in Cracow and elsewhere.[2] At the Jagiellonian court there was quite exceptional tolerance of religious opinions, yet it is not such influences to which it is worth drawing attention here, but rather a theological plea made in the interests of the Polish people for the struggle of that country against the Teutonic knights.

Among the Polish delegation, incorporated in the German nation at the Council of Constance, were men charged with the duty of presenting the case of Poland against the Teutonic order. The main duty fell upon Paul Wlodkowic of Brudzen, rector of Cracow University, who came to the Council as envoy of the king and representative of the Jagiellonian University.[3]

[1] Slauch, op. cit. p. 57. [2] Slauch, op. cit. p. 60. Cf. K. Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie* (Paris, 1905), esp. pp. 135 f., for the Canon Law at Cracow.

[3] He has been specially studied by Mrs. U. Goble, "The Case of Poland against the Teutonic Knights at the Council of Constance" (University of Oxford thesis, 1957) ch. 3, to which I am much indebted. The main monographs are those of T. Brzostowski, *Pawel Wlodkowic* (Warsaw, 1954), and L. Ehrlich, *Pawel Wlodkowic i Stanislaw ze Skarbimierza* (Warsaw, 1954).

Wlodkowic, originally educated at the University of Prague, Master of Arts in 1393, went with his colleague, the theologian Lascaris (also to appear at the Council) to the University of Padua (1404) where he studied law under Zabarella, who had been teaching there since 1391. From Zabarella Wlodkowic must have heard the doctrines of toleration which he applied later to the Polish problem in his own work. Wlodkowic could not afford to be promoted to the Doctorate of Law at Padua and had to return to his own country and take the degree at Cracow. The conflict between Poland and the Teutonic knights involved fundamental questions of principle. Wlodkowic was engaged in the problem from 1411 onwards. When King Jagiello decided to take his protest against the Order to Constance, he sent the rector of Cracow to prepare a rational exposition of Poland's case before the nation, and the result was his first pamphlet *De potestate Papae et imperatoris respectu infidelium* which he offered to the German nation (of which he was a member) on 5 July 1415.[1]

Two courses, he said, were open to him; either a judicial process, the decision to be given after the facts had been reported by witnesses, or a doctrinal, where general principles are discussed in the natural light of reason. Wlodkowic chose the latter and showed his keen mind in focusing the attention of his audience on the question: do pagans possess intrinsic rights or are they deprived of all claims to humane treatment, and have Christians the right to pillage them and convert them by fire and blood? Wlodkowic shows that the papal and imperial privileges to which the Order appealed are by their very nature invalid. He then gives a short summary of the history and origin of the conflict, outlining the coming of the Order to Poland and the growth and power of the knights. Even once the subjugated Prussians were quiet, the expeditions of the knights continued. Meanwhile God gave the faith to two pagan princes, one of whom became the ruler of Poland, the other of Lithuania, and the pagans who had once been the terror of Christian people now flocked to be

[1] Text in *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki*, v. 161-85. For the date, cf. H. von der Hardt, *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium* (1697-1700), iv. 388.

baptized. Yet the knights attacked them even more fiercely, burning their new churches and killing Christians in their fury.[1] Wlodkowic ends his summary with the defeat of the knights at Grünwald. He now proceeds to the first part of his treatise, examining the power of the Pope in regard to the infidel in the form of eleven questions. The first of these is whether without sin, princes can expel Saracens and Jews from their kingdom and from their goods, which he answers by saying that if they are willing to live quietly with Christians they should not be molested. Especially should Jews be tolerated, since from their writings we establish the truth of our own faith.[2]

Such reasoning is not unlike that of St. Bernard in his letter to Eugenius III. Wlodkowic brings his argument into relation with the actual problem of the Teutonic knights, when in the second question he asks whether it is lawful for Christians to make war on infidels living peaceably in their own lands and under their own jurisdiction. In answer he quotes the discrepant opinions of Innocent IV and Hostiensis (Henry of Suso), the latter of whom denied pagans any right of ownership or jurisdiction. Innocent, however, would concede such rights, since, after the creation of man, God gave the whole world to him and the Bible contains many instances of the division of land. Jurisdiction may also arise from the law of nature, by which, for instance, a father has jurisdiction over his own family. Innocent held that possession and jurisdiction can lawfully and without sin belong to infidels since such rights are destined not only for the faithful, but for all rational creatures. In consequence it is not lawful for Christians to take these away : " because infidels possess them without sin and by the authority of God."

What then is the Pope's power over unbelievers ? Following Innocent, Wlodkowic asserts that the Pope has power over all men, pagans as well as faithful ; but for the occasions on which he can use this power the writer turns to the conditions established by Zabarella : if the Gentiles sin against the law of nature or if they worship idols, or, in the case of the Jews, if they raise heresies against their own law, the Pope has power to inflict penalties, and the Pope also may have power over the infidel

[1] *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki*, v. 162. [2] Ibid. p. 164.

ruler of a Christian people : he may command him to treat Christians under his rule well. But infidels " must not be brought by compulsion to the faith ", since all men must be left in such free will and "only the grace of God avails in this vocation". Even infidels may have free will and Wlodkowic insists that it must be respected. What then is the extent of the imperial power ? Wlodkowic shows that the Pope alone has the power of both swords, while the Emperor is only his minister in temporal matters. Wlodkowic reveals his familiarity with the imperial theory of Dante and of Marsilius of Padua. But the Emperor has no right to claim dominion over infidels. He has no power to occupy the lands of infidels who do not recognize his authority. One therefore infers that the privileges granted by the Emperor to the Order are null and void in so far as they relate to the occupation of the lands of the infidel. Wlodkowic then considers whether the war waged by the Teutonic knights against the heathen can be considered just. He takes the five categories set out by St. Thomas for consideration : the person, the matter, the cause, the intention and the authority involved. The person waging war should be a secular not a clerk, the matter of dispute the recovery of his own goods or the defence of his own country ; the cause should be one of necessity to win peace ; the intention should be one of desire for correction and justice. Having set out the theory of " just " war, Wlodkowic examines the practice of the Teutonic knights in their campaign against the heathen. Such a war he condemns on three grounds, as being contrary to civil law by which one should not molest those living in peace, to natural law according to which a man should not do to another what he would not wish to have done to himself and finally to divine law, by which one is forbidden to kill. The matter of the war is unjust since to compel infidels to accept faith by arms is against reason and against the teaching of the General Council of Toledo, and in the time chosen for their campaigns the Knights sin, for they are in the habit of beginning an expedition on the feast of Our Lady, whereas one should sanctify the Sabbath by good deeds and abstention from servile work. The interesting point about this treatise presented to the Council on 6 July, along with fifty-two conclusions by which the

audience could the more easily recognize the main principles of the case, is the use Wlodkowic makes of Innocent IV and the teaching of Zabarella.[1] The positive side he developed in the proposition that it is not lawful to attack or subjugate pagans unless for an absolute and immediate cause of faith. Letters supporting a contrary way of preaching the faith contain heresy and are void. They can give no general or special power to attack the infidels; even a religious order founded to fight against the infidel cannot do so for any special reason unless a superior power authorizes them and none appears to present itself in the present case, nor has any special apostolic permission been given. It may be added that Zabarella was a member of the commission appointed by the Council to examine the Polish case against the Teutonic knights, and must have recognized his own doctrines of toleration presented to him by Wlodkowic. The rector's work in clarifying the position of Poland in north west Europe was recognized by the expression of the king himself who called him *regni zelator supremus*, while the Teutonic knights themselves regarded him as their main adversary. But the Emperor had already made his decision before the parties arrived in Constance. Not only did he recognize the Order's right to retain Pomerania, but even enjoined the immediate restitution of Samogitia—King Jagiello was correspondingly indignant and abandoned the hopes hitherto placed in the Emperor, concentrating now on a reversal of Sigismund's sentence. For this the Poles appealed to Martin V, *tanquam ad arbitrium viri boni*.[2]

This is the voice of an orthodox Pole, trained in the arguments of western thought. The Polish protest against the Teutonic knights is at bottom the claim of a nation to be regarded as part of the European family. In much the same way during 1956 Hungarian intellectuals, asserting their right to believe or disbelieve the official statistics and pronouncements of the Communist party, decided to defy the bureacratic censorship and compulsion to obey the party rules. In the following passage from Tamas Aczel's poem *Ode to Europe*, published in early September 1956, the idea is expressed :

[1] Goble, op. cit. p. 23.

[2] A. Prochaska, *Na Soborz w Konstancji* (Cracow, 1898), p. 77.

This little nation would also like to live:
I know that it depends on us—but believe me
We are now doing what we must.
Europe, our common mother, we return to Thee
Set an example, show us how,
As you have done for centuries,
We are one, no matter what the sages preach
Or the priests, whose dark touch caused souls to stiffen.
Not they but we are living,
Europe, before whom the barriers are lifted,
The gates are opened for millions of simple people;
Oh homeland, humanity, creative restless life,
Stay with me and Thee, be with us, Europe,
Common fate, love, work, future
Oh, beating heart, pure truth
To plow, to sow, to harvest, to die and rise again a thousand times.[1]

Alongside Wlodkowic we may set a very different character, a Bohemian visionary, the product of the Czech claim to be allowed to obey the divine law embodied in the original Four Articles of Prague, which, in a watered-down form, were proclaimed at Iglau in 1436. About the life of Peter Chelčický very little is known. He was probably born about 1390 in Chelčice, a southern Bohemian village near the small country town of Vodnany, and Professor Bartoš has identified him with a certain Peter Záhorka, a well-to-do squire from nearby Zahorsi who was born about 1379-81. It is most likely, Mr. Brock thinks, that Chelčický was for most of his life a working farmer.[2] He does not appear till 1419, four years after the burning of Hus, and he may have come to Prague as an adherent of some of the tenets of the Waldensian heresy, widespread in that area. When the Czechs took arms under Žižka and the minor gentry took an important rôle in the direction of the movement he remained a non-militant, a Taborite before Tabor, disbelieving in force and asking even the utraquist theologian Jakoubek of Stříbro what sanction he had in the scriptures for warfare among the Christians. He was a young countryman standing out alone against the opinion universally accepted by his own party, even condemning the revered leader of the whole Hussite movement

[1] The poem is printed in *Soviet Survey*, No. 11 (January, 1957), p. 18.

[2] Peter Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren* ('s-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 26.

for his militant attitude. In southern Bohemia he was to stand in a succession of preachers who had already re-established a tradition of moral protest against social injustice, a fellow feeling for the oppressed, in exaltation of the humble and meek against the proud and rulers of the world. The cult of the little man, of the peasant, reminding one of the English Piers Plowman, was connected, in the thought of Hus's predecessors, with the attempt to renew the practice of Christian moral principles. They were primarily moral reformers involved in political questions only incidentally. Konrad Waldhauser (1326-69) inveighing against those lords who oppressed their tenants had proclaimed the moral superiority of the simple peasant ; so too Mathias of Janow (1350-94), to whom reference has already been made, carried on this tradition by pointing to the early Church with its community of goods and rule by love alone as a model for contemporaries to follow. Chelčický found Wyclif himself the strongest direct influence : " none of the first doctors ", he writes, " did so zealously speak or write against the poison poured into the Holy Church. . . . Wyclif has routed the hosts of Anti-Christ as well as those doctors who introduced cunning rules in the place of the law of Christ." [1] When Tabor took a militant line he broke decisively with the party, but lived on some thirty years in his little village, writing continually and preserving his independence both of Hus and of other Bohemian leaders, though he would quote Hus or Wyclif to illustrate some of his points. How a layman or a working farmer could have evolved a startlingly original social philosophy and have expressed those ideas in a literary style it is difficult to see. As Mr. Brock thinks, it was his comparative ignorance of the theological systems of the past which enabled him to draw directly from the bible, unencumbered with the philosophical and other conceptions of his contemporaries, and endowed him with independence of thought. The kernel of Christ's teaching, Chelčický wrote, the secret of His power, was His law of love ; and he proceeded to describe a political Utopia placed on a historic background.[2] This was the foundation of the movement known as the Unity of the Czech Brethren. Its bases were voluntary and anarchical.

[1] Cited by Brock, op. cit. p. 34. [2] Described in Brock, op. cit. pp. 44 f.

All government for Chelčický would seem an instrument of oppression and legalized robbery. Authority, he says, cannot exist without cruelty. If it ceases to be cruel it will at once perish of itself since none will fear it : therefore authority is far removed from love. Warfare between Christians, too, is an inseparable concomitant to the participations of Christians in the state. For Chelčický the Tolstoyan gospel of non-resistance to evil was the guiding motive. He was the opposite to a direct revolutionary. For the Christian he advised obedience to the civil authority as a matter of conscience, not merely out of fear of the consequences of disobedience ; at the same time as he condemned the whole existing social order, he preached throughout his life its conditional justification. This seeming paradox was, however, a logical development of his first principle. Orthodox medieval political theorists had granted that the institution of the State was a result of sin. Without the Fall, civil government would lose its justification. Chelčický also was ready to assent to the existence of the State, but slightly modifying the accepted view, he restricted its validity to the community of the non-Christians and the false Christians. " The foolish people who neither know God nor are under His yoke." If, however, the non-Christians and the false Christians all truly followed in Christ's footsteps it would wither away. In the meantime the remnant of true Christians must hold to their principles.[1]

These relativist views of the State have been interestingly compared to those propounded by Karl Marx. Closely linked with Chelčický's rejection of civil authority was his demand for the complete separation of Church and State. He opposed the whole use of force in spiritual matters and did not agree with the action prescribed for the laity in the Articles of Prague. He was at one with the Hussites in attacking the temporal wealth of the clergy of the mendicant orders, but for him priests should only concern themselves with preaching the Gospel, relying for their safety on the example of a pure life and never calling in the aid of the secular arm. The sort of compulsory virtue which the Prague articles envisaged was worse than useless. The Geneva

[1] Brock, p. 48.

Constitution of John Calvin would have been an abomination to him. He approved conditionally the maintenance of public order by the ruler, but he is most emphatic that no Christian could himself become king. His reason should be against it, his conscience would recoil from doing many things condemned by God, but inseparable from the exercise of kingly power. The Christian has the law of love inscribed in the Gospels as his guide and that is sufficient for all branches of life.

It is not difficult to see how within a sect maintaining these principles a testing time would come. By the end of the 1480s serious disunity appeared under the influence of men like Lukas of Prague who urged compromise in the relations of the Brethren to the civil authorities and the Hussite Church, particularly over the attitude of the unity to the acceptance of authority by its members. Were men who were trying to live out the Christian gospel to permit worldly power among themselves whether actively or passively? This question became more important as the humble and unlettered men, mostly peasants with a sprinkling of artisans, who had at first formed the overwhelming majority of the rank and file brethern, were giving way to the burgess brethren, some of whom had amassed considerable wealth, and to the University-bred leaders like Lukas of Prague.

These two figures, Wlodkowic and Chelčický—and there were others less outstanding—offer some illustration of the ideas liberated in the course of the intellectual ferment in Central Europe during the fifteenth century. The study of the Conciliar movement is incomplete without an understanding of the dynamic forces face to face with the Church from a new quarter. An intellectual and spiritual central, nay even eastern, Europe was in process of formation based on the *studia* of Cracow, Vienna and Prague. Vienna, for example, was the university of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, the reformer, and of Peter of Pulka, the conciliar zealot and master of another notable conciliar, Thomas Ebendorfer, of whose career Alphons Lhotsky has recently given an account.[1]

[1] *Thomas Ebendorfer: ein österreichischer Geschichtsschreiber, Theologe und Diplomat des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica XV, Stuttgart, 1957).

The Bohemian visionaries and warriors, the reformers and Cromwellian saints who came to the Councils of Constance and Basel were a problem of a kind that had not occurred in the Church since the patristic centuries. At Constance the fate of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague raised only faint interest in the French and Italian nations, though to the English the linking of Hus and Wyclif was both a necessity and a point of national humiliation. It is not surprising therefore to find Hus gaoled in the castle which was the seat of Robert Hallum, the best of the English reforming bishops. Hus was condemned largely on the strength of his *de Ecclesia*. But this treatise, as the new edition by Professor Harrison Thomson makes clear, only recapitulates Wyclif in chapters i-xi, and in chapters xii-xiii constitutes a running commentary on the position put forward by eight doctors of the Faculty of Theology on 6 February 1413. "The Pope is head of the Roman Church and the Cardinals its body" was the *Concilium*, or theological verdict; this was "a serious and cleverly written manifesto of the curial party".[1] If the basic lines of Hus's thought had been determined by 1410, his opinions were now becoming sharpened and clear cut, when, in the later phase after 1413 he was writing, at Kozí Hrádek in southern Bohemia, the treatise read in the Bethlehem Chapel in June 1413. For the Pope and Cardinals who must be obeyed Hus substituted the law of God.[2] This was the prologue to the military revivalism which after the martyrdom of Hus took the Czech armies into the imperial territory and threatened the structure of the whole Empire. If the Church after the victories of Prokop and Žižka, had continued to rely upon force and had declined to argue with the Hussites, the West would have suffered the greatest military disaster of the Middle Ages. But Cardinal Cesarini saw to it that good sense and solidarity of the Council prevailed over the alarmism of Eugenius IV. The Bohemians were admitted to Basel and allowed to argue their four articles, "evangelical verities" as they called them, on the understanding that the Council would not be the judge, but holy scriptures, the practice of Christ and of the early Church,

[1] *Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de Ecclesia* (1956), pp. xiv-xv.
[2] Ibid. pp. 127 f.

along with the councils and doctors which based themselves thereupon.

The investigation by Professor Bartoš, working in the chapter library of Prague cathedral on the collection of speeches and debates at the Council of Matej of Chlumčany, the Taborite commandant of Pisek, made for his own use, has provided new and more complete texts of the Hussite arguments and replies to their opponents. In certain cases, the version corrects or supplements those pointed by Martène and Durand, or by Mansi. In the case of Peter Payne, the Oxford academic, then chief foreign minister of the revolutionary Czech government, it is the only source which has so far come to light.[1] The speeches can now be judged as a whole, and the impression they make is noteworthy : for at Basel four men of very different background, Rockyčaný an academic, a Taborite bishop Mikulas, the Taborite commander Prokop and the orphan Ulrich of Znojmo were sinking their differences in an effort to propound a formula which should represent the essential elements of the Bohemian position. These men were inspired by an idea of the Church which, deriving alike from primitive practice and from the more modern treatises of Ockham and Marsilius, departed from the hierarchical conceptions of the last five centuries and sought to restore the laity to their place in the community of the faithful. To Rockyčaný and his colleagues *universitas fidelium* was no cant phrase. All these debates were in 1433. Though the Council had defied the Pope and continued in existence against papal prohibition, the testing time came when Eugenius IV had recognized its existence, but was regarded with so much suspicion for his attitude in the past and for sending papal presidents to replace Cesarini, that the anti-papalists got out of hand and passed the decree abolishing Annates (1436) ; as a result of which moderate conciliars like Nicholas of Cues (who had published the *Concordantia Catholica* in 1433) found that they would have to reconsider their position. What most of all made them do so was the split among the Fathers over the meeting place of an imminent Council of Union between Greeks and Latins. In the

[1] The speeches and the sources for them are discussed by me in *Prague Essays*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (1949), p. 92 f.

course of this, Cusanus became convinced that the Holy Spirit had deserted the assembly.

The work and scholarship of the last thirty years upon the life, writings and sermons of this great philosopher and churchman has contributed greatly to an understanding of the Council he attended from 1433-8. This study, associated with the Heidelberg edition of Cusanus and the work of Gerhard Kallen, Ernst Hofmann and Josef Koch, centres upon Cusanus's letters, sermons and treatises bearing upon the Council of Basel and his reforming legation in Germany. Both aspects of Nicholas's statesmanship find expression : the early phase, when he was still a " conciliar ", writing a guarded treatise on the admission of the papal presidents at Basel ;[1] and the later period (1437 onwards) when, outraged by the extremists, he was becoming the " Hercules of the Eugenians ". The first instalment of the letters, published in 1942-4, includes a welcome to Cusanus from Francesco Picolpasso, Archbishop of Milan, in 1438, just after Nicholas had returned from a Papal embassy at Constantinople. The Archbishop, after deploring the tactics of the majority at Basel, congratulates Cusanus on having put up 200 ducats for the expenses of the Greeks going to the Council.[2] Here also can be read the striking defence by Nicholas of his having forsaken the conciliar majority and having sided with Eugenius, against the politely expressed but subtle and relevant questions put to him by a Carthusian house unspecified.[3] This was towards the end of 1439, showing that the Carthusians were still working upon what they took to be the doctrines expressed in the *De Concordantia Catholica.* Nicholas had to extricate himself. He did so by emphasizing unity and general interest as the sign of a true council, whereas *schism* indicated that the Holy Spirit has departed from it. Representatives might indeed be there, but no council so divided could be truly representative of the Church which is one and undivided. By 1439 he was writing to correspondents about the *fatuitas Basiliensium*

[1] The " De auctoritate presidendi in Concilio Generali ", ed. G. Kallen (*Sitzungs. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl.*, Jg. 1935, 6, 3).

[2] Ed. J. Koch, *Cusanus-Texte IV*, Briefe, erste Sammlung, p. 27. The letter mentions the zeal of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan for union with the Greeks.

[3] Letter 4. Ibid. pp. 37-8.

and, if Dr. Koch is right in his identification, he was composing the treatise *Contra Amedistarum errorem*, his reply to the elevation of Amedaeus of Savoy by the conciliar majority as anti-pope.[1]

The debates with the Hussites at Basel raised in an acute form the problem of communication: of understanding the arguments put forward by opponents and critics outside the Church. The question was how to meet them on their own ground. Scholastic methods of argument were not everywhere appreciated. Not only was there a gulf in method but one in terminology, between the thinker trained in western *studia* and (to use Bishop Pecock's phrase) the "bible-men" of central Europe. Both difficulties were experienced in the Council of Ferrara-Florence. It is from this Council that the most important recent addition to conciliar study is derived. The publication by the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, under the editorship of Dr. Joseph Gill, S.J., of the Greek Acta of the Council of Florence [2] comprised in the thirty-four manuscripts submitted for examination is too lengthy and complicated a matter adequately to be noticed here. The complete revaluation of the sources of which I have given a summary account elsewhere [3] enables the main body of the discussions at Ferrara and Florence to be seen in the right perspective. It has now become clear of what great importance were the sessions at Ferrara for revealing the fundamental differences of method employed by the two sides. If there was an atmosphere of common study in which the debates between the Greeks and the Latins were conducted, the significance attached by the Emperor's party to traditional theological terms must have been found very difficult by the Latins. On the Greek side much was taken for granted which Latin theologians, with Ockhamist training, versed in nice distinctions of theology, could not willingly accept. Latin canonists and theologians had become accustomed to comment-

[1] "Über eine aus der nächsten Umgebung des Nikolaus von Kues stammende Handschrift der Trierer Stadtbibliothek (1927/1426)", *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Festschrift G. Kallen, Bonn, 1957), pp. 117-35.

[2] *Quae Supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, 2 parts (Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores, Rome, 1953).

[3] *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series*, VII, i (April, 1956), 160.

ing and glossing the acts of their own General Councils in terms that corresponded with the advance of grammatical scholarship and philosophical thought. They looked to their Eastern colleagues for a similar understanding, but they found conservatism of extreme kind. Even in recording the texts of discussions, the Greek notaries did not always understand the Latin argument and must have had great difficulty in reporting the theological discussions.

This is only one of many new points revealed by the publication of the Greek text. Even more clearly than before the predominant position of the Patriarch who died during the Council makes itself apparent and without his leadership it is doubtful whether the discussions would have reached any result.

AN ALLEGED WORCESTER CHARTER OF THE REIGN OF EDGAR [1]

By ERIC JOHN, M.A.
LECTURER IN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THE revival of English monasticism which is usually called the tenth-century reformation has been extensively studied but mainly in the liturgical and narrative sources. There exists also a number of charters purporting to come from the early days of some of the greatest houses of black monks and to shed light on the original constitution of these houses in the reign of Edgar and his immediate successors. They are a rich source of information for the " outer life " of the new monasteries and the impact their revival made on contemporary institutions and society—that is if they can be trusted. In fact, few if any of them can be completely authentic in their present form and consequently they have been largely ignored by historians. But some of them do probably contain authentic materials and report credible traditions and a minute investigation of each would undoubtedly be rewarding. The most amenable of these charters—it is not entirely accurate to call them foundation charters—is the Oswaldslow charter, C.S.1135 [2], a charter which purports to have been granted by King Edgar to the church of Worcester in 964 and which can be shown to deserve a little more credit than it has usually received. Since the evidence on which a partial rehabilitation of C.S.1135 rests casts light on more than an episode in Worcester history and the fabricated passages in

[1] I have to thank Professor C. R. Cheney and Dr. E. Stone for their valuable criticism and advice.

[2] The manuscript tradition of C.S.1135 depends on one manuscript B.M. Harley MS. 7513. This is a single sheet of parchment written in a post-Conquest hand of possible early twelfth-century date. The charter is now slightly defective but the illegible portions can be restored with the aid of Edward II's confirmation on the Charter Roll for 6 Edward II, no. 25. I have quoted throughout from the manuscript. The most convenient modern editions are Birch, *C[artularium] S[axonicum]* (London, 1885-99), no. 1135; Kemble, *C[odex] D[iplomaticus]* (London 1839-48), vi. 237 (Kemble's earlier text, no. 514, is corrupt); Thorpe, *Diplomatarium* (London, 1865), p. 211. All these are editions of Harley 7513.

the charter have something in common both in motive and manner with those of other alleged charters of the period, it seems worth while to discuss the authenticity of C.S.1135 in some detail.

The charter is an elaborate affair which claims to have been granted at Christmas, 964, by King Edgar to St. Oswald and the monks of Worcester. Its disposition is long, complicated and most unusual: it purports to endorse the expulsion of the "lascivious clerks" from the church of Worcester and their replacement by monks, it then goes on to enact the great liberty of Oswaldslow for the bishop and the new community. The right of the monks, as distinct from the bishop, to a share in the liberty is emphasized and the appointment of Wynsige, the prior of Worcester, on Edgar's authority, is noted. The charter cannot be authentic in its surviving shape but it is not easy to reject all of it out of hand either.[1] This is because, as Maitland pointed out, the charter is "unlike ordinary forger's work" and any tampering "seems to have favoured, not the church of Worcester as against the king, but the monks as against the bishop". Certainly the passages which emphasize the special rights of the monks are mostly suspicious and the two most important of them are flagrantly false.

The first is intended to secure the right of the prior and monks of Worcester to their share of the profits accruing from Oswaldslow. It claims that Wynsige had been installed by Oswald with royal authority as prior of Worcester and that he and his successors were to enjoy rights of sake and soke, toll and team and infangenetheof in their share of the Oswaldslow liberty. This cannot be genuine because the formula conveying judicial privileges is anachronistic for 964 and is probably out of place in an authentic diploma of any period.[2] It is moreover impossible to suppose that Wynsige could have been prior of Worcester in 964. Wynsige was certainly the first prior but a

[1] The best modern opinion is represented by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), p. 267: ". . . a twelfth century copy of an alleged charter of King Edgar for Worcester, which may be founded on authentic material".

[2] *Writs*, p. 37: "The evidence suggests that grants of sake and soke were notified by writ to the appropriate authorities, and that they are not matters that find a place in a landbook." See ibid. p. 77.

date between 969 and 977, perhaps 972, for his appointment is most probable. We know that Wynsige had been a clerk with a benefice at Worcester whom St. Oswald had converted to monasticism [1] and sent to the recently founded abbey of Ramsey for his monastic education.[2] Dr. Armitage Robinson, however, showed that we cannot credibly date the foundation of Ramsey before 968 or 969.[3] Secondly Wynsige witnesses no Worcester charters 964-9 but after the series resumes in 977 he witnesses most of them in a position of honour. This seems to put his return to Worcester between 969 and 977; since St. Oswald became archbishop of York as well as bishop of Worcester in 972, it is reasonable to conjecture that, feeling the need for some assistance in ruling his cathedral community now that he had the additional responsibility of the northern province, he brought Wynsige back from Ramsey and made him prior. It is obvious that Wynsige could not have been prior in 964 and this section of C.S.1135 is therefore false.

A later section falls with it. This confirms the monks' right to their hundred—which the rest of the charter had swallowed up into the triple hundred of Oswaldslow—and protects the monks' " private rights " by giving them power to appeal to the king and the archbishop against those who unjustly burden or oppress them. The context shows that only the bishop can be meant. It is difficult to imagine any such right of appeal in a genuine charter of Edgar. I have not noticed any like privilege in any other tenth century document and the silence of the Edgarian concordance of monastic observance, the *Regularis Concordia*, on such appeals, taken together with its strongly authoritarian tone, precludes any possibility of this right of appeal being genuine. In any case it seems to cover only the monks' share of Oswaldslow and their share of the dubious judicial privileges which were the subject of the earlier fabricated passage. Thus in a charter containing such flagrantly forged passages, any portion of it

[1] Hemming, *Chartularium*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723), ii. 530.

[2] *Vita Oswaldi, H[istorians] of the C[hurch] of Y[ork]*, ed. J. Raine, Rolls Series (London, 1879), i. 435.

[3] *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, British Academy Supplemental Papers, v (London, 1919), 37.

which claims anything for, or confers anything on the monks, is *ipso facto* suspicious.

It might seem that one could go further and suppose that the whole charter was fabricated for the sake of the sections already discussed but as soon as the main body of the charter is examined doubts arise. Most of the charter is concerned with the expulsion of the clerks from Worcester, the transfer of the cathedral endowment to a community of monks and the creation of the liberty of Oswaldslow for the benefit of the church of Worcester. There is every reason to believe that the story which C.S.1135 tells about the expulsion of the clerks is substantially true.[1] The nature of the liberty of Oswaldslow moreover makes it improbable that forgery would have been of much use in getting and keeping the privileges involved.[2] It is difficult to believe that such an elaborate charter would have been compiled for the sake of the comparatively minor sections which furnish the obvious motive for forgery : the ratio of what is true to what is false seems to me too great to make it likely that C.S.1135 was wholly fabricated. It is in any case impossible that it could have been done at one time. Arguments will be offered for dating the principal forged passages shortly after the Conquest when it can be shown that quite a different account of the coming of the monks to Worcester was circulating, and when the account of the nature of Oswaldslow and the place name forms of the estates in question would have been archaic. I do not think we can explain C.S.1135 without supposing a genuine tenth-century document of some kind lies behind it. If this is conceded then there is *prima facie* case for thinking that a genuine royal charter was granted to the church of Worcester and that whatever is in it for the benefit of the bishop and the church taken together is likely to be genuine and that whatever is in it for the benefit of the monks in particular is almost certain to be false. We can, moreover, test this hypothesis by examining the outer framework of the charter as we have it, the initial and concluding protocols, since if we are really dealing with an authentic charter which has been interpolated but not

[1] I hope to establish this in a forthcoming study of St. Oswald and the tenth-century reformation.

[2] I hope to discuss these privileges in a study of the liberty of Oswaldslow, 964-1087.

composed by a forger, then it is just the formal parts which ought to be genuine. If, on the other hand, we find that any of the protocol is false the hypothesis of total fabrication will become much more attractive.

At first sight the more formal parts of C.S.1135 do not seem very probable for an Edgarian document, that is to say they do not closely resemble the normal landbook of the reign. But we must be cautious in applying diplomatic criteria to documents of the type of C.S.1135. It is now generally agreed that a royal writing-office or chancery existed in England from the reign of Æthelstan onwards and that royal diplomas were normally chancery productions until about the third quarter of the tenth century.[1] Herr Drögereit thinks, on palaeographical grounds, that these diplomas went out of the chancery after 963[2] and Dr. Harmer has produced important evidence which explains why this was so.[3] C.S.1135 is dated 964; it is not a normal landbook being concerned with much more important and rarer privileges;[4] the fact that it departs somewhat from normal landbook forms is no evidence of forgery then. It is plainly not a chancery production, but that is not suspicious, and the class of document to which it belongs, the quasi-foundation charters of the newly-founded or revived houses of the Edgarian reformation, for the most part do not pretend to follow the conventions of the landbook very closely. In such cases some variation from the usual—since the charters are locally, not centrally, produced—some access of dignified pomp—since the occasions were very special—might be reasonably expected. We must, therefore, in the case of all documents of this class, and C.S.1135 in particular, distinguish between an inflation of style and formula which is reasonably contemporary with the alleged date of the charter, and gross anachronism.

C.S.1135 begins with an elaborate grace preceding a royal title.

[1] *Writs*, pp. 38-9.

[2] *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xiii (1935), 402.

[3] Op. cit. 39.

[4] Dr. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* (London, 1955), p. 537 writes "there seems a possiblity that more elaborate charters than those in 'common form' were sometimes drawn up for important houses".

Altitonantis dei largiflua clementia qui est rex regum et dominus dominantium ego Eadgarus Anglorum basileus omniumque regum insularum oceani que Brytanniam circumjacent cunctarumque nationum que infra eam includuntur imperator et dominus. . . .

No other Edgarian charter begins quite like this but there is no sign of anachronism.[1] Diplomas of later kings tend to begin with a lengthy, prosy, vathic *arenga*, whilst charters of the second and third quarters of the tenth century frequently begin, like C.S.1135, with an elaborate grace or brief *arenga* followed by a royal title. A charter of 963, C.S.1116, from Wells, begins :

Annuente altithroni moderatoris imperio totius Albionis triviatim potitus regimine non immemor ob hoc mihi recidiva fore concessa ut his strenue aeterna lucrarer. Qua propter ego Eadgar totius Brittanie basileus. . . .

The royal title in C.S.1135, although unique, is respectable enough :

ego Eadgarus Anglorum basileus omniumque regum insularum oceani que Brytanniam circumjacent cunctarumque nationum que infra eam includuntur imperator et dominus.

This could be considered an elegant variation on a formula common in Edgar's charters and probably of chancery origin :

. . . ego Eadgar basileus Anglorum cunctarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector. . . .[2]

Another interesting parallel is the opening of the *Regularis Concordia*, which, although not strictly in diploma form since it is in the third person, closely ressembles a diploma and its royal title is reproduced in a suspicious Winchester charter, C.S.1158. The *Concordia* begins :

Gloriosus etenim Eadgar, Christi opitulante gratia Anglorum ceterarumque gentium intra ambitum Britannicae insulae degentium rex egregius. . . .[3]

The only doubts one can cast on C.S.1135's title is the description

[1] C.S.357 an authentic ninth century Worcester charter also begins with an elaborate grace preceding a royal title : " Gubernante altithrono tonanti cunctaque mundi monarchia moderanti qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est cujus melliflua gratia adridenti ego Coenwulf rex . . ."

[2] C.S.1079, an Abingdon charter which is accepted by Stenton, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955), p. 71. There are also other variants of this style, e.g. C.S.1176, a contemporary copy.

[3] Ed. Dom. Thomas Symons (London, 1953), 1.

of Edgar as *basileus Anglorum* [1] and the substitution of *imperator et dominus* for the more common *gubernator* (or *rex*) *et rector*. The first is hardly a doubt at all but Herr Drögereit, speaking of the designation of the realm in titles of the period, says :

> Die allgemein gebräuchliche und offizielle Bezeichnung ist *Brittania*.[2]

This is quite untrue. Stevenson pointed out many years ago :

> The later kings usually described themselves as kings of Albion or Brittania .... or as having acquired the empire of the whole of Albion.[3]

Some variant of *rex* or *basileus Anglorum* is also common under Edgar.[4] A more serious objection is a second argument of Herr Drögereit—that all tenth-century charters which employ an imperial style, including C.S.1135, are false.[5] His argument will be most familiar to English readers in Mr. Loyn's generous summary.[6] He writes :

> Drögereit carries further for a small group of charters the close analysis of format, content and style turned to such good account in his earlier work. . . . He divides the charters in which imperial titles appear into two major groups, those containing the term *basileus* and those containing *imperator* or *imperialis*. Of the former he asserts and gives convincing demonstration that *basileus* was well known in Anglo-Saxon England as a simple equivalent of *rex*.
> . . . There remains a body of seventeen charters in which *imperator* or *imperialis* appear in one form or another. Drögereit excels himself in minute analysis of this *corpus*, causing the props to fall one by one until our tenth-century " empire "

[1] Herr Drögereit, *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* (Savigny-Stiftung, Germanistische Abteilung), lxxxii (1952), 69, considers C.S.1135 scarcely worth discussion: " Es sei nur auf den dauernden Gebrauch von ' Anglia ' hingewiesen, der im 10.Jh. völlig unmöglich ist." But C.S.1135 always uses *Anglorum* for royal titles, *Anglia* occurs four times, twice in the more improbable parts of the preamble and twice in the body of the charter in passages which are not otherwise suspicious. It is difficult to be quite so confident as Dr. Drögereit that this proves very much. In the first place the earliest surviving text is a copy made in the twelfth century and we cannot be sure *Anglia* may not have been an innocent innovation of the transcriber. In any case there is plenty of evidence for the use of the vernacular *Engla land* in the tenth century : it occurs in the O. E. Bede in the translation of iv, c. 24 ; in the various versions of the Chronicle *passim* ; in a letter of Dunstan, *Crawford Charters*, vii. We cannot therefore discount the possibility that *Anglia* may represent a possible contemporary usage. *Brittania* and *Albion* were certainly used.

[2] *Archiv*. p. 398.

[3] *Asser*. (Oxford, 1904), p. 148, n. 1.

[4] C.f. C.S. 1079, 1176.

[5] *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 58-71.

[6] *History*, xl (1955), 111-15.

can no longer be sustained. . . . What is more, the arc of forgery swings significantly around Worcester for many of the charters, with Peterborough and Glastonbury emerging not unscathed. . . .[1]

I am here concerned with the admissibility of imperial titles in authentic charters and not with the problem of the Anglo-Saxon Empire and I do not think Herr Drögereit's case against the "imperial" charters is quite as strong as Mr. Loyn thinks. Stevenson, who knew tenth-century charters better than any scholar before or since, was not prepared to dismiss these imperial titles [2] and with good reason. In the first place Herr Drögereit has not distinguished between chancery and locally produced charters, and he has failed to note that some of these charters are plainly not centrally produced and are, into the bargain, more than ordinary royal grants and thus afford occasions when a specially inflated title might be thought appropriate. Moreover he also asumes that a charter which can be doubted on a single and sometimes very minute, particular is necessarily false in all.[3] Further Dr. Koebner has pointed out it is not possible that :

. . . the imperial style was an invention of the falsifiers. On the contrary—as the kings of their own time, the successors of the Conqueror, had no such style they must have reason to assume that the expressions used by them . . . appear genuinely "Anglo-Saxon".[4]

But we cannot take the problem of titles in isolation ; we must

[1] Op. cit. p. 111.

[2] *Asser*, p. 148, n. 1.

[3] Some of Dr. Drögereit's particulars are very minute indeed. The formula *quamdiu fides catholica in gente Anglorum perseverat* is condemned as evidence of forgery in all its variations, p. 56, n. 87. But it occurs in a contemporary copy, C.S.406, see Stenton, *E.H.R.*, xxxiii (1918), 445, n. 57 and in a ninth-century charter, C.S.454, which Professor Stenton has pointed out could not have been fabricated after 877, *Latin Charters*, p. 54, n. i. A variant of this formula is used to condemn C.S.1135, p. 69, n. 45. Another formula is also condemned by Herr Drögereit *pro remedio animae meae*, it occurs in very early authentic charters, for example, C.S.36, Stenton, *Latin Charters*, p. 34 and *E.H.R.*, xxxiii (1918), 434 ; C.S.45 which Stenton considers is the earliest extant contemporary copy of a diploma, *E.H.R.*, xxxiii (1918), 434. Herr Drögereit will not allow that *pedisecus* could be a genuine Anglo-Saxon title on the somewhat odd ground that it is not found in Du Cange, pp. 56 and 65. But the authenticity of *pedisecus* is hardly in doubt. See D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, p. 489, n. 6. It occurs in C.S.496 the important eighth-century charter which is the most important piece of evidence for the nature of folkland. Herr Drögereit seems to have worked under considerable handicaps ; he did not use Kemble, p. 27, n. 7 and volume I of Birch was not available to him, p. 55, n. 86.

[4] *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ii (1955), 126, n. 7.

study them with the designation of the realm in tenth-century charters.

The century saw a remarkable growth in the power of the West-Saxon monarchy. When King Alfred made law, although he was legislating for more than Wessex, he only called himself king of the West Saxons. King Edgar, seventy years later, was described by his encomiast as :

> Ruler of the English,
> Friend of the West Saxons,
> And protector of the Mercians.

Foreign kings, we are told, submitted to him,[1] and we know that several kings did Edgar some kind of homage, perhaps at Chester. The royal titles and designation of the realm in royal charters attempt to express this increasing hegemony. The title *rex et rector totius hujus Brittanie insulae* becomes very common and it is the latin equivalent of *cyning 7 brytenwealda ealles ðyses Iglandes* as a comparison of C.S.705 and *Charters*, xxv[2] shows. It is difficult to deny that *brytenwealda* is a more than royal title.[3] In this context, like *rector hujus Brittanie insulae*, it seems intended to draw attention to the widespread character of the king's realm. It is obvious from the various attempts made to characterize this realm as Brittania, Albion, all this island of Britain, the peoples dwelling within ambit of Britain and the rest of the peoples around and so on, that there was simply no agreed and universally accepted way of describing this fluctuating authority. Consequently it seems natural enough that a traditional vernacular word like *brytenwealda*, or classical words like *imperator* and its derivatives, should be pressed into service.[4] Certainly reputable

[1] *Chronicle* D.E.975.

[2] I have argued for the authenticity of the greater part of these texts, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vi (1955), 154, n. 4.

[3] See the late C. Erdmann's important discussion of this title, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 3-7.

[4] Especially when it is remembered that continental sources referring to the contemporary Empire also stress what has been called the " hegemonic conception of the Empire ". See E. Stengel, " Kaisertitel und Souveränitätsidee ", *Deutsches Archiv*, iii (1939). This conception is expressed in titles like *imperator plurimum nationum*, see R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1950), pp. 42 ff. Another English royal title from the tenth century which is probably relevant is *tocius Anglorum gentis primicerius*, or some variant. This

charters from a number of religious houses use the year of the current ruler's *imperium* as one means of dating the grants they record.[1] I do not wish to deny that imperial styles are inflated styles but to assert that they are tenth-century inflations, nor would I argue that they express any "constitutional" fact, although they certainly express political facts; in a perfectly literal sense king Edgar, and not he alone amongst tenth-century rulers of England, was a king of kings. Consequently it seems to me that the use of *imperator* in C.S.1135 is not evidence of fabrication. Thus it hardly seems possible to dismiss the initial protocol of C.S.1135 on diplomatic grounds and we may now turn to the anathema, dating-clause and witness-list.

The witness-list contains only one improbable name *Æthelwold dux*. He signs as late as 962 but he could not have signed a charter dated December 964 since he was the first husband of queen Ælfthryth, who was married to Edgar by 964, as an

title seems to have been borrowed from the byzantine chancery, R. S. Lopez, *Byzantion*, xviii (1948), 162. *Primicerius* is normally used in Anglo-Saxon charters to claim some kind of territorial hegemony: it is certainly a genuine tenth-century title since it occurs in three contemporary charters, C.S.880, 903 and 1229. Herr Drögereit is, then, mistaken in dismissing the *primicerius* charters *en bloc*, p. 68, n. 43. It is perhaps worth noting that nine of the "imperial" charters condemned by Herr Drögereit have not also been condemned by other scholars—at least to my knowledge. They are C.S.746, 876, 882, 883, 884, 909, 911, 937 and 1259. C.S.909 was moreover accepted by Plummer, *Two Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* ii (Oxford, 1899), 154 and Dr. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1930), no. xxx takes no exception to it on linguistic grounds. Dr. Darlington, *V. C. H. Wilts.*, ii, 96 treats C.S.1259 with respect. There are of course "imperial" charters for the period 975-1066 which are not discussed by Herr Drögereit.

[1] C.S.780 is admitted by Herr Drögereit as a contemporary copy, *Archiv*, p. 372, n. i—it is also accepted by Stevenson, *E.H.R.* (1914), p. 689, n. 3. Two other charters using an imperial year are taken as authentic by Herr Drögereit, C.S.776 and 781, op. cit. pp. 379-82 and 372-7. Even more serious for Herr Drögereit's case is a tenth-century reference to King Edgar's imperial power in a non-chancery source, which he has overlooked. The *Vita Oswaldi* speaking of Edgar's coronation says, *H.C.Y.* i. 436, great men have come: "a solis ortu et occasu, ab Aquilone et mari exiit edictum imperatoris ut ad eum confluerunt." It is probable that *imperium*, and the related words never carried the same weight of meaning in England as in the Empire proper. Some charters seem to use *imperium* as synonymous with *regnum*, see C.S.335 and 341, both contemporary copies from the reign of Coenwulf of Mercia and see C.S.91: "ad regis secularis imperium". Folz's, op. cit. p. 40 comments on ninth-century Frankish usage should be noted: "Aussi les sources latines emploient—elles souvent regnum et

Abingdon charter shows.[1] Ælfthryth herself attests C.S.1135 as queen. Æthelwold's inclusion may be a sign of forgery but it is also easily explicable as a scribal error of possibly ancient origin. Æthelwold signs C.S.1135 between Ælfheah and Æthelwine, a position which in other contemporary charters is sometimes occupied by ealdorman Æthelstan,[2] who does not attest C.S.1135, unless Æthelwold is a mistake for Æthelstan. This mistake is more probable in that Æthelwold normally signed immediately after Æthelstan in charters which they both witnessed.[3] It would in any case be ridiculous to reject a witness-list on the basis of one error when personal names containing the element *Æthel* were so common. Amongst the witnesses is the shadowy figure Æthelmund *minister*, who attests only three other charters,[4] one in 966 and two in 969; two of these are Worcester charters, grants by King Edgar to his thegn Ælfwold which so closely resembles one another in form as to suggest that, since neither is suspicious, they were probably given at the same *witenagemot*. The witness-list of C.S.1135 was not taken from either of these charters however; although the majority of witnesses is common to all three charters, Queen Ælfthryth attests C.S.1135 only, the order of the witnesses varies considerably and the formulas of attestation of the principle witnesses differ markedly between

imperium comme synonymes." Erdmann, *Forschungen*, p. 8 has an interesting suggestion of the origins of the Anglo-Saxon *imperium* as a literary gloss on the familiar classical theme of empire as bounded by the ocean and Britain in particular as " another world ". He cites some passages suggesting that the theme was familar in Anglo-Saxon England. An interesting continental parallel is found in the Annals of Fulda, ed. F. Kurze, *M.G.H. SS in usum scholarum* (Hannover, 1891), p. 86. Speaking of Charlemagne the annalist says : " ablato regis nomine se imperatorem et augustum omnium regum cis mare consistentium appellare praecepit." If the English Channel retained this classical significance in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries then a good deal of apparent contradiction can be explained, for instance Alcuin's readiness to speak of an " imperial kingdom " in both an English and a Frankish context, see *Epistolae*, *M.G.H. Ep.* iv (Berlin, 1895), nos. 129 and 121 *inter alia*. Indeed Folz believes, op. cit. p. 43, that the Frankish imperial title was adopted partly under Anglo-Saxon influence. An interesting passage from a letter of Boniface of 747 may be cited here, ed. Tangl, p. 169 : " laicus homo vel imperator vel rex . . ." Boniface is almost certainly referring to Æthelbald of Mercia, see *ep.* 73 and the gloss to *ep.* 78, p. 171.

[1] C.S.1143. [2] C.S.1124, 1125.

[3] C.S.1047, 1051, 1052, 1055, 1056, 1066, 1071 for instance.

[4] C.S.1179, 1229 and 1234. (C.S.1179 is a forged charter.)

C.S.1135 and the other two Worcester charters. I have found no other Worcester charter whose witness-list could have served as a model for C.S.1135. It is difficult to believe that a post-Conquest forger would have added Queen Ælfthryth to the list in view of her legendary reputation. The phase *cum consensu principum et archuntorum meorum* in Edgar's attestation is unusual but not without precedent. C.S.338 has *omnibus archontis Merciorum*, providing a precedent for the declension of *archon* is C.S.1135 as well as its use and C.S.430 has *coram suis archontis.*[1] *Archons* appear in C.S.926 (a contemporary copy), C.S.964 and C.S.986 which are Eadwig charters from Abingdon cartularies. I should not like to assert or deny the authenticity of C.S.964 but it would be hazardous to deny the authenticity of C.S.986.[2] Thus the witness-list of C.S.1135 has nothing seriously objectionable in it.

The really difficult section of the protocol is the anathema and dating-clause, which stand or fall together. The anathemas of Edgar's charters show considerable variety but the anathema of C.S.1135 is quite exceptional. It uses the formula *cum Dathan et Abiron et cum Iuda traditore domini et Iuliano apostata aecclesiarum dei oppressore et persecutore* which is unique in English diplomatic. Judas commonly serves as a bad example but Dathan and Abiron I have found only in the Crowland forgery, C.S.1178 and a dubious Worcester charter, C.S.462, which does not seem to be related to C.S.1135 in any way. Julian the apostate is, I believe, found only in C.S.1135. None of this is evidence of fabrication however. Dathan and Abiron, with or without Judas, are common in the anathemas of Frankish charters, especially those of the abbey of Cluny [3] and since the dating clause of C.S.1135 also shows marked Frankish influence it is fair to suppose that we must look to Francia for an explanation of this anathema. St. Oswald had come to England and the see of Worcester from the abbey of Fleury which contained some

[1] See Levison, *England and the Continent* (Oxford, 1946), p. 254, n. 4.

[2] See Stenton, *Early History of Abingdon* (Oxford, 1913), p. 41.

[3] *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, ii (Paris, 1880), nos. 913, 918, 939, 1008, 1009 *inter alia*. Of the few tenth-century Fleury charters which have survived, see *Rec. des Chartes de l'Abbaye de st. Benoit-sur-Loire* (Paris, 1907), i, 152 and a ninth-century charter, p. 77.

dubious bones attributed to St. Benedict and a community reformed after Cluny's example. Since there is some reason to associate parts of C.S.1135 with St. Oswald [1] it is not unreasonable to suppose that Oswald had looked at Frankish charters at Fleury and that this explains the Frankish influence in C.S.1135. But although Frankish influence will explain Dathan and Abiron it will not explain Julian the apostate. But his inclusion is not difficult to explain. C.S.1135 records an exceptional act of royal power, the creation of a liberty wide enough to change the political geography of south-west England and to reduce the power of the local great persons other than the bishop of Worcester. The maintainance of the liberty was utterly dependent on continuous royal support and we may suppose that Julian the apostate was put in as a hint to Edgar's successors.[2]

Frankish influence is also found in the dating clause and it is probable that the anathema, and perhaps the whole protocol of C.S.1135, stands or falls with the dating clause which reads :

Facta sunt hec dominicae nativitatis DCCCCLXIIII indictione VIII regni vero Eadgari Anglorum regis VI in urbe que ab incolis Gleaweceastre nominatur in natale domini festivitate sanctorum innocentum feria iiii.

[1] C.S.1135, or the transaction it records, is very closely connected in date and purpose with Oswald's *indiculum* to King Edgar, C.S.1136 v. *supra* p. 57, n. 2. The *indiculum* is authentic beyond dispute and was written by Oswald himself " hanc epistolam componere studui ". It contains slight verbal parallels with C.S.1135 : " virum magnificum Brihtnothum comitem "; " archiductor " (otherwise unknown); C.S.1135—" providi etiam cautelae studio ut . . .", C.S.1136—" hanc epistolam ob cautelae causam componere studio ". C.S.1135 also recalls other Oswald charters : its grace begins " Altitonantis dei largiflua clementia . . ." which recalls the bishop's title in three Oswald charters of 963, 966 and 967, " Ego Oswald largiflua Dei clementia antistes ", C.S.1111, 1182, 1208 and see *Hemming*, i, 121. No royal charter has quite this formula. These parallels are too slight to put much weight on ; if, however, C.S.1135 were wholly forged we should expect the forger to have made much greater use of C.S.1136, especially in the parallel sections describing the *querela* which resulted in the foundation of Oswaldslow. If the author of both charter and *indiculum* were the same person we could explain the narrow parallels as mere tricks of memory.

[2] Such a flight of fancy was quite likely in Oswald's circle. The author of the first *Vita Oswaldi* was probably abbot Byrhtferth of Ramsey, see S. G. Crawford, *Speculum Religionis*, Essays to . . . C. G. Montefiore and D. V. J. Fisher, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, x (1952). In speaking of Edgar's monastic policy he compares " the most pious king " : " non ut ille Chaldaicus insaniens . . . aut Decius infelix martyrizans . . . sed . . . exemplum gloriosi imperatoris secutus Constantini . . ." *H.C.Y.* i. 427.

Place dates, although rare in Edgar's charters, are not unknown. Two Ely charters, of which the dating clauses at least have some claim to be authentic,[1] have place dates, C.S.1265 and 1266. C.S.1219, although no more than C.S.1135 an ordinary landbook, tells a story which is substantially true and has a place date. But again it seems likely that we owe this dating clause with its place date, year of grace, regnal year and indiction, to common Frankish example. C.S.1135, is, however, highly peculiar in providing such an elaborate identification of the day of the week. Holy Innocents' day, 964, indiction 8 would normally be taken as meaning 28.xii.963 modern reckoning, with the indiction a year out. But *feria IIII* shows that the year is 964 not 963, since 28 December fell on a Wednesday in 964. In any case it can be shown that C.S.1135 cannot be earlier than Easter 964 (or later than 966),[2] in so far as it is a genuine charter. Either we must suppose that the draftor of the Oswaldslow charter made a mistake in the calendar year [3] or face the fact that this dating clause was calculated by someone who thought that the year began with the Annunciation. If this is so, then C.S.1135 is the earliest evidence of Annunciation dating in charters by nearly a century ; but we must face this possibility. I shall try to show below that the forged passages were elaborated in the pontificate of St.

[1] *Charters*, p. 345. [2] See p. 57, n. 1.

[3] Professor C. R. Cheney has drawn my attention to the possibility of a third alternative—that the draftor of the charter was computing the year from 1 January. He points out that the occasions when Englishmen of the tenth century had to decide whether 28 December lay in year *x* or in year *x plus* 1 must have been very few. 1 January, besides beginning the old Roman civil year, began the solar year of ecclesiastical computists. *Kal. Jan.* begins every calendar of the year's days for liturgical purposes. The traditional importance of the day was preserved by popular custom. For evidence see *Decretum*, 2, 26, 7, 13-16 (and see Friedburg's notes). Jocelin of Brakelonde reports the practice of giving new year's presents on the feast of the Circumcision. Further, 1 January was the eighth day of Christmas and the days intervening between 25 December and 1 January, falling in the Octave, might be regarded as a whole. Gervase of Canterbury (ed. Stubbs, i. 88) records the usage of calculating the new year from the feast of the Circumcision in his own day. It will thus be plain that we cannot dismiss the possibility that this dating clause follows the usage of the liturgical calendars and employs neither an Annunciation nor a Christmas reckoning. It is very difficult to decide the reckoning followed in C.S.1135 once this alternative is allowed ; it still seems to me more probable that an Annunciation reckoning was used for reasons set out *infra*.

Wulfstan (1062-95), probably soon after the Conquest, and that by the end of Wulfstan's pontificate the accepted date for the events narrated in C.S.1135 was 969 and that this date 969 was important for the case which C.S.1135 was fabricated to defend ; this date, 969, itself depended on a forged charter for its authority. Thus if this dating clause were forged we should expect the year chosen to be 969 and that the forger would still use a Christmas reckoning since the Annunciation reckoning was not widespread in England until the reign of Henry II. Again if the dating clause were forged we should have to explain the year 964 by supposing that the forger knew that in that year King Edgar began a policy of expelling clerks from English monasteries and replacing them by monks. If he knew this he must also have known that this was done at Easter and at Winchester and we must then explain why this charter was given at Christmas and at Gloucester. The hypothesis of forgery is, then, difficult to sustain. On the other hand the difficulties in the way of taking this as a genuine and very early example of Annunciation reckoning are not insuperable. The date at which we can point to a certain use of this method of dating is far from absolute, because both English and Frankish charters rarely disclose which system of reckoning is in use. I have found only three pre-Conquest English diplomas later than 964 in which it is possible to detect the beginning of the year, K.C.D.622, 824 and 825. All three begin the year at Christmas but all are false. K.C.D.622 has an impossible witness-list and the other two are notorious forgeries.[1] On the other hand an Annunciation reckoning is used in the D. text of the Chronicle, which has Worcester connections and probably a Worcester provenance, as early as 1009.[2] Again it is not possible to detect

[1] *Writs*, pp. 289 ff.

[2] R. L. Poole, *E.H.R.*, vol. xvi. The fact that the earliest certain evidence of the use of Annunciation dating should occur in a Worcester document is of importance here. Unfortunately there is not at present agreement amongst scholars as to the provenance of the D text of the Chronicle. The D text must have some connection with Worcester, see Atkins, *E.H.R.*, vol. lv (1940), and there is also a certain amount of information concerning events in the north of England. It is fairly obvious that this should be explained by the connection between the see of Worcester and the archdiocese of York from 972 until 1062 but it is not agreed whether the chronicle is a Worcester source containing some northern information or vice versa. Recently Dr. Whitelock, *Peterborough*

the method of reckoning the year in use in the earlier entries. Dr. Lane Poole also pointed out years ago the connection between the origins of Annunciation reckoning, the cult of St. Mary and the abbey of Fleury.[1] He pointed specifically to the rededication of Worcester cathedral to St. Mary by Oswald under Fleury influence as an instance of the spiritual climate from which the new reckoning came. There is, moreover, every reason to suppose that the rededication of Worcester cathedral was part of the transaction recorded in the charter.[2] I feel, therefore, that we ought not to reject this dating clause as forged and that it is very possible that it is a genuine and early example of Annunciation reckoning. But if this be allowed then we must also suppose that it can only have come from a genuine Oswaldslow charter. The peculiarities of the dating clause (and the anathema) tie up too closely with the nature of the disposition of the charter to allow us to suppose that they were lifted from another, genuine, lost, Worcester charter of 964.

The dating clause is followed by a vernacular curse directed against those who would restore the clerks which goes on to introduce the witnesses, still in the vernacular. A second anathema and the use of the vernacular in this context is so unusual, both in authentic and fabricated charters, as to make it

Chronicle (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 28, and Dr. Douglas, *E.H.R.*, vol. lxviii (1953), have suggested that the D text should be assigned to the northern province on the strength of the annal for 1051. This annal gives an account of the crisis of that year between Edward the Confessor and the Godwines, laying stress on the part played by earls Leofric and Siward. Edward, at Gloucester, sends for help to the two earls and they come to his assistance, summoning out their *fyrd*. We are told: "man bead þa folce þider ut ofer ealne þisne norðende, on Siwardes eorldome, and on Leofrices", *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. E. Classen and F. E. Harmer, p. 76. Mr. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 175, translates this passage: "and the people over all these northern parts were called out thither in Siward's earldom, in Leofric's." Dr. Douglas and Dr. Whitelock think that the reference to "these northern parts" is indicative of a northern origin. It seems to me clear that "these northern parts" include Mercia; a man for whom Mercia is north country is what I should call a southerner. The rest of the annal makes it clear that "north" in this context starts at Gloucester. It is indeed just the sort of geographical orientation we might expect a Worcester chronicler to make. See, however, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 680-1.

[1] *Studies in Chronology and History*, (Oxford, 1934), pp. 13-20.

[2] See p. 57, n. 1.

impossible to say whether this clause is genuine or not.[1] This concludes the discussion of the protocol. It seems to me to come reasonably well out of diplomatic criticism. This impression is strengthened by any study of forged Worcester charters, which suggests very strongly that C.S.1135 is far from "ordinary forger's work". It is not possible here to examine each and every Worcester forgery to prove what is at best a negative—although a study of forgers' techniques made *scriptorium* by *scriptorium* would be most useful to the student of charters—but I should like to draw attention by way of example to a forged charter alleged to have been given by King Edgar to the monks of Worcester in 972, C.S.1284. The purpose of the charter is to secure the right of the community at Worcester to elect one of their number as "abbot". The fact that the abbot is also bishop does not appear in the charter which in any case is obviously a crude copy of a Pershore charter, C.S.1282. A large part of C.S.1284 is derived word for word fom the highly suspicious Pershore charter. The unintelligent copyist has even reproduced the dedication formula as it stands in C.S.1282 although this is quite inappropriate for Worcester. The only original part of the charter is the intrusion of the grant of land and a saltworks into what should have been a straightforward anathema. Although C.S.1284 purports to be granted in 972 its formal parts seem to be much later than the equivalent sections of C.S.1135. C.S.1284 begins with an *arenga* of considerable length before moving to a royal title and grace nearer to what is usual in Edgarian charters. In the witness-lists, C.S.1135 accords only four of its witnesses sentences of attestation; C.S.1284 has thirteen; C.S.1135 is witnessed only by six abbots

[1] This vernacular passage is defective in Harley MS. 7513 and consequently in all the editions of the charter so far printed. It can however be fully restored from a comparison of Harley MS. 7513 and the fourteenth century confirmation on the Charter Roll, 6 Edward II, 25. It reads: "Ðis syndon þa gewitenesse þe þær æt wæron 7 þis mid þam cining getrymdon 7 þense curs allinge gefestnodon oppon allum ðam þe þis undoð oððe ge waniað oððe gewemmað oððe of þære munekan anwalde eft on clerican hand getyrnað." (These are the witnesses who were present and confirmed this with the King and laid this curse altogether on all those who undo this or weaken it or defile it or turn it from the possession of the monks into the hands of the clerks again.) I am indebted to my colleague Dr. I. L. Gordon for some assistance with the transcription of this passage.

(which is right for its time) but C.S.1284 rises to thirteen. If C.S.1284 represents the standard of forgery at Worcester—and the obviously forged passages of C.S.1135 are hardly less crude—then it is difficult to believe that the protocol of C.S.1135 is forged.

It seems, then, reasonable to believe that there was an authentic Oswaldslow charter of which the greater part of the protocol and the disposition survive in C.S.1135. It is, of course, impossible to go through a document such as C.S.1135 and draw precise lines between the true and the false. In a home-made charter such as C.S.1135 it is particularly difficult to apply diplomatic criteria to the disposition when the transaction is so unusual and the body of the charter is best discussed on purely historical grounds, which I have attempted elsewhere. There remains, however, a lengthy narrative preamble which raises obvious problems of authenticity and which is of some interest from the point of view of charter criticism.

These narrative preambles are more usually associated with charters of Æthelred [1] but it seems likely they are to be explained as innovations consequent upon the withdrawal of diplomas from the royal chancery to local *scriptoria*. It is worth noting that the *Regularis Concordia* has just such a narrative preamble—as well as other reputed Edgarian quasi-foundation charters. The *Concordia* is not strictly speaking a diploma although it is very close in form. This is hardly surprising since the *Concordia* was almost certainly drafted by Æthelwold,[2] and Herr Drögereit has suggested [3] that Æthelwold drafted some of Edgar's diplomas. In any case C.S.1135 is a document closer in many ways to the *Concordia* than to an ordinary landbook. We cannot reject C.S.1135's preamble out of hand then. In this preamble Edgar is made to give thanks to God who has exalted his power above that of his predecessors. King Æthelstan in particular had conquered all the inhabitants of Britain [4] but to Edgar had been reserved an even greater success :

[1] Stenton *Latin Charters*, p. 74. [2] *Downside Review*, lxxiv (1956), 175.

[3] *Archiv*, p. 429.

[4] Æthelstan is called "monarchus totius Brittaniae" in C.S.660 and is alleged to rule "regnum totius Albionis" in C.S.665. The latter charter is not completely authentic in its present form.

Divine favour has permitted me to reduce all the kingdoms of the islands of the ocean as far as Norway, with their most fierce kings beneath the sway of the English (*cum Anglorum imperio*) and to subject the greatest part of Ireland with her chief town of Dublin to the kingdom of the English.

It is generally accepted that shortly after Edgar's coronation an uncertain number of Welsh and "Scottish" kings did him homage, probably at Chester, and it is difficult not to connect this homage with evidence of Edgar's aggressive use of his sea-fyrd—C.S.1135 is largely concerned with the provision of this sea-fyrd. The Ely charter, C.S.1266, which even if it cannot be assigned to 970, the year it claims to have been composed, seems to be no later than the time of abbot Ælfric [1] also refers to Edgar's superiority over the island kings. It would be possible to give a guarded credence to this part of the preamble if it were not for the :

maximamque partem Hibernie cum sua nobilissima civitate Dublina Anglorum regno subiugare. . . .

This is the only evidence we have that Edgar undertook any action against the Norse kingdom of Dublin, but the scanty sources hardly permit us to lay much weight on the argument from silence and in view of the troubles King Edmund had with the men of this kingdom it would not be surprising if his son carried the war to their home base. It will, however, be suggested later that the bulk of the fabrication was done in the time of St. Wulfstan and it cannot be without significance that there were connections between Worcester and the kingdom of Dublin in Wulfstan's day.[2] The see of Dublin was founded about 1028 and its first bishop was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. Its second bishop was a Worcester monk called Patrick, a pupil of Wulfstan, who continued to acknowledge the subjection of his see to Canterbury. In 1096 there was a reaction and it seems likely that a community of monks possibly introduced by Bishop Patrick with assistance from Worcester—this is Father Gwynn's opinion—was dispersed. Father Gwynn has also argued that when the see of Dublin was founded, the king of Dublin turned to Canterbury for political as well as

[1] A. McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxv (1949), 128, n. 8.

[2] *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, ed. A. Gwynn (Dublin, 1955), Introduction, *passim*.

religious reasons. The Norse kingdom of Dublin was by this time in decline and, as Father Gwynn points out,[1] Cnut was its natural ally and protector against the native Irish. Thus the subjection of Dublin to Canterbury and the Worcester interest in Dublin involved secular as well as ecclesiastical politics. It is, then, highly suspicious to find a reference to the political subjection of Dublin in a charter interpolated at a time when the ecclesiastical subjection was a burning issue and both charter and see had Worcester connections.

The next part of the preamble is taken up with what Edgar has done for God in return and what he proposes to do next. It is very improbable that it can be authentic. It claims that Edgar " has constituted " forty-seven monasteries with monks and nuns and that if his life is sufficiently long he proposed to increase the number to fifty. We know that Edgar began his policy of restoring monasticism in England at Easter 946 and it is obviously fantastic to suppose that he could have established so many communities in nine months. Further, we can probably identify the source of this odd figure of forty-seven monasteries said to have been established by Edgar. In one place the first life of St. Oswald, which was certainly known at Worcester,[2] says that Edgar decreed that more than forty monasteries were to be established,[3] and in another that seven monasteries were established in Mercia under Oswald's supervision.[4] The *Vita* is certainly not dependent on C.S.1135 and there is no other indication that the fabricator of C.S.1135 borrowed from the *Vita* but we cannot assume that they are independent sources. A Worcester monk was likely to know something about Oswald and his doings and stories based on the first *Life* were bound to circulate. We cannot then dismiss the possibility that figures given in the *Vita Oswaldi* formed the basis of such a tradition and eventually got into the preamble of C.S.1135. The further passage in which Edgar proposes to increase the number to fifty is also not difficult to explain. The first part of the disposition—which seems to me authentic—in effect founds another monastery at Worcester and it is possible that the fabricator, having made

[1] *Repertorium Novum*, i (1955), 5

[2] See *infra*, p. 79, n. 2.

[3] *H.C.Y.* i. 426.

[4] Op. cit. p. 439.

Edgar establish forty-seven monasteries already, found room for one more by mentioning Edgar's intention of increasing the number to fifty.[1] The motive for this elaborate fabrication seems to lie in the mention of the part played by the three great monks-bishops of Edgar's reign, Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald. It is " per meos fideles fautores Dunstanum . . . Æthelwoldum . . . ac Oswaldum . . ." that the charter makes Edgar claim he accomplished all this and it was only with their strenuous co-operation that the forty-seven monasteries were established. Such prominence for the authority of the three monastic saints is not usual in tenth-century sources. It is conspicuously absent from the *Concordia*. Especially suspicious is the strength of the reference to the part of the three bishops in C.S.1135, *per meos fideles fautores*. The nearest parallel is the forged Ramsey charter, C.S.1310, but even here Edgar is made do no more than heed the prayers of Dunstan and Oswald. So it is entirely improbable that C.S.1135 can be believed here. But it is likely that such stress on the part of the three great bishops was intended to strengthen the false claim made in a later part of the charter that the monks of Worcester had a right of appeal to the king against their own bishop. It is not surprising that they felt the need for something more than royal authority to back this privilege.

There remains the problem of the date of the fabrication of the forged passages of C.S.1135 and the circumstances which it was designed to meet. We may begin by pointing to certain internal features of the forged passages. Wynsige and his

[1] The second *Life* of Oswald is by Eadmer. It is based on the first with some additional material ; Eadmer tells that the combined efforts of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald established forty-eight monasteries in England. *H.C.Y.* ii. 22. It looks as though this figure may be most easily explained by supposing that Eadmer had seen C.S.1135 and arrived at the curious figure of forty-eight by adding one more, that is Worcester, to C.S.1135's forty-seven. In his account of the Easter synod of 964, Eadmer says that " canons " were compelled to chose between living chastely and losing their benefices ; the only source I have noticed which gives a similar account of the choice put before the clerks is C.S.1135. The synod, according to Eadmer, was presided over by Dunstan, not Edgar ; Dunstan is called Edgar's *fidelis fautor*, as in C.S.1135, whose emphasis on the rôle of the bishops may have suggested to Eadmer the shifting of the main part from Edgar to Dunstan.

successors seem to be given the title of *prepositus*.[1] This word was already old-fashioned by the second quarter of the twelfth century[2] and Hemming, who compiled his section of the cartulary which bears his name before 1100, uses *prior* or *decanus* to describe this office. An important inquest held at Worcester into the rights of the monks in 1092 speaks of "priors".[3] In another suspicious passage the prior and monks got the right to appeal to the king and the "archbishop" against their own bishop. Obviously this passage must date from a time before the papal curia was the normal goal of appeals of this kind; equally obviously this passage could not have been inserted whilst the bishop of Worcester was commonly also archbishop of York. It might be argued that since it is obvious that the archbishop meant is Canterbury, this enables us to date the passage after 1072 since the subjection of Worcester to Canterbury and its complete independence of York was established shortly after 1072.[4] It is, however, just possible that the passage might have been added in or after 1062 when archbishop Ealdred resigned the see of Worcester to St. Wulftstan. Before the Norman Conquest there is no evidence that the archbishops of York denied the primatial dignity of Canterbury over the whole of the English church and, so long as the bishop of Worcester was not also archbishop of York, this passage is not ambiguous. There were earlier occasions when York and Worcester were separated but it will be remembered that a suspicious reference to the Norse kingdom of Dublin in the narrative preamble also seemed to point to the pontificate of St. Wulfstan.

The main motive for the interpolations is obvious. The monks wished to secure their share of the profits of the liberty of Oswaldslow against either royal *ministri* or their own bishop and to have a right of appeal if their claims were questioned. A writ of Edward the Confessor,[5] which Dr. Harmer accepts as authentic, confers some of these judicial privileges on Ælfstan (the prior) and the monks of Worcester. The writ can be dated 1062.

[1] "omnesque post eum sui successores qui eidem congregationi prepositi fuerint."

[2] *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Camden Series, xl (London, 1928), 11: "prepositus ut tunc, prior ut nunc, dicitur."

[3] *Hemming*, ii. 530. [4] *Vita Wulfstani*, xxviii-xxxiii. [5] *Writs*, p. 116.

Another writ, of William I this time,[1] is addressed to Urse d'Abetot, the sheriff of Worcester and Bishop Wulfstan. It must be dated before 1080 [2] and it reads :

omnes suas consuetudines seu dignitates que ad ipsum prioratum pertinent in terris, ecclesiis, decimis seu ceteris possessionibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus . . . et nolo, ut aliquis se intromittat de rebus monachorum nisi per priorem ecclesiae.

It does not seem probable that the writ was aimed against the sheriff only ; the defence of the monks' ecclesiastical rights as well as their secular rights rather points to the bishop, and the writ was certainly quoted in a dispute between the convent and St. Wulfstan in 1092. It is difficult to believe that C.S.1135 can be altogether independent of these two royal writs, either or both of which could be the answer to an appeal justified by one forged passage of the charter to defend rights claimed in another.

C.S.1135 would serve the monks in another way. Since it claims, probably rightly, that the cathedral was converted to monasticism in 964 and Wynsige appointed *prepositus*, by royal authority, immediately—which is certainly false—it follows that C.S.1135 could be cited to prove that Oswald had never exercised direct authority over the monks of Worcester. Dr. Darlington has already pointed to a passage in the *Vita Wulfstan* which suggests that in disciplinary matters at least, when Wulfstan was promoted from prior to bishop of Worcester :

he seems to have superseded the prior as head of the convent.[3]

It does not seem probable that the monks accepted this state of affairs without protest ; at any rate C.S.1135 is not the only Worcester forgery designed to prove that Oswald never exercised authority over the monks. Florence of Worcester, *sub anno* 969,[4] records the expulsion of the clerks and he goes on to say :

Unde S. Oswaldus, sui voti compos effectus, clericos Wigorniensis ecclesiae monachilem habitum suscipere renuentes de monasterio expulit ; consentientes

[1] *Hemming*, ii. 522 : *Registrum . . . Wigorn.*, ed. Hale, Camden Series, xci, 25b.

[2] Ælfstan prior was succeeded by Thomas before 1080, *Antiquaries Journal*, xx. 36. The text of the writ shows that Ælfstan was still prior when the writ was drafted.

[3] *Vita Wulfstani*, xxxviii.

[4] *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1848), i. 141.

vero hoc anno, ipso teste, monachizavit, eisque Ramesiensem coenobitam Wynsinum, magnae religionis virum, loco decani praefecit.

Florence is claiming, like C.S.1135, that Wynsige was appointed in the same year that Worcester was converted and he seems to expect his claim to be disputed since he mentions his authority, St. Oswald himself. But unlike C.S.1135, all this is assigned to the year 969. The late Dr. Armitage Robinson argued very cogently [1] that Florence's authority was an Oswald charter C.S.1243 which is dated 969 and which is not suspicious except that instead of the usual witness-list it has a vernacular sentence claiming that the grant was made with the witness of Wynsige and " all the monks at Worcester ". Since Wynsige could not have been at Worcester in 969 and since Oswald's charters normally have a diploma-style witness-list—the manner of referring to the witnesses in C.S.1243 suggests that eleventh-century notificatory *laen*-charters provided the model—it is difficult not to conclude that C.S.1243 has been adapted with intent to deceive. Thus we have clear proof that the date of Wynsige's appointment was disputed at Worcester and was a motive for forgery. Florence of Worcester, who was writing in the time of St. Wulfstan,[2] moreover, cited the forged Oswald charter to prove the same point that C.S.1135 proves under a different date. The monks were not disputing over a point of antiquarian detail; what mattered was the corollary that Oswald had never exercised direct authority over the monks of Worcester and that the prior had stood between monks and bishop from the earliest days of the community's history. We may now cite another piece of evidence relevant to these disputes and forgeries. A charter of Bishop Wulfstan was given in a great diocesan synod held in Worcester cathedral in 1092.[3] It had to do with a:

questio inter 2 presbyteros, Ælnothum scilicet, presbyterum sanctae Helenae, et Alam, presbyterum sancti Albani, de parochiis et consuetudinibus ecclesiarum suarum.

Wulfstan tells us that the dispute is of long standing:

clamor filiorum ecclesiae, monachorum videlicet, quod ipsi damna paterentur suorum reddituum, quos juste habere debuissent, de sua ecclesia, sanctae Helenae scilicet, propter tam diuturnam presbyterorum discordiam.

[1] *St. Oswald*, p. 33. [2] R. R. Darlington, *The Anglo-Norman Historians*, 14.
[3] *Hemming*, 11. 527.

He appears to be more than a judge; in some way he is a party to the suit since he says that being full of years and very infirm he wishes to correct and emend " res ecclesiasticas nostrae curae commissas ". We can only infer the nature of the dispute from the result. The issue was referred to what looks like a committee of arbitration consisting of the prior, the archdeacon and other ecclesiastics; conclusions were established which can in part be related to extant ancient—and some not so ancient—documents.[1] The upshot of these deliberations, accepted by Wulfstan and rehearsed in the charter, was that all the monks' churches and priests were exempt from the authority of the archdeacon, and instead subjected to the prior as dean; in other words the bishop gave up his ordinary jurisdiction over the monks' churches. The status of St. Helen's church seems to have been the test case on which the rest depended and this was so because it had been held originally by Wynsige before he became either monk or prior of Worcester. On his conversion, with his fellow converts, he lost his rights *in proprios usos* and the church became part of the convent's corporate property. We can now see that the monks were anxious to deny that Oswald had ever controlled this corporate property and eager to say that Wynsige, immediately he had given up his personal right to St. Helen's church, received it back under his jurisdiction as prior. The document shows that the date of Wynsige's appointment was discussed and that agreement was reached. The false date 969 for the conversion of Worcester was accepted—this suggests that C.S.1243, the source of the false date, was produced and probably fabricated for the occasion—but the synod in 1092 refused to allow that Wynsige was made prior immediately after the establishment of the monastery since we are told that he was made prior " three years after his conversion ", that is, 972. Thus, although Wulfstan was prepared to allow what some bishops would not allow, the exemption of his monks' churches from ordinary jurisdiction, he did not admit that his predecessors never exercised direct authority over the monks. If we compare all this with the longer drawn out and

[1] The writ of William I was certainly produced, since the " nullus archidiaconus, de monachorum ecclesiis, seu clericis se intromittat, nisi per priorem ecclesiae " of the composition seems to be modelled on the " nolo, ut aliquis se intromittat de rebus monachorum, nisi per priorem ecclesiae " of the writ.

better documented litigation of the monks of Durham with their bishop,[1] it will be apparent how close a connection exists between the denial of the bishop's ordinary jurisdiction and the denial of his abbatial authority in a monastic cathedral. Putting all this together it seems as though dispute about the extent of the bishop's authority over the monks and their rights had been endemic at Worcester since 1062 and that various fabricated documents, including C.S.1135, have something to do with these quarrels.

It only remains to fix C.S.1135's part in this litigation. It must have been touched up well before 1092 and cannot have been used on that occasion. Had it been prepared after 1092 its date would have been altered to 969, in line with the now accepted Worcester tradition, and since it implicitly contradicts that tradition, it is improbable that it can have been cited in 1092. It is not difficult to see why the monks wished to alter the date of the conversion of Worcester from 964 to 969. Their prime aim was to establish the election of Wynsige concurrently with the conversion of the community, but knowledge of the Ramsey traditions and the *Vita Oswaldi* [2] at Worcester made it incredible to claim Wynsige as prior in 964, since the monks knew he had been a monk at Ramsey [3] and that Ramsey was not founded until 968 or 969. Thus C.S.1135 was useless in 1092 because even in its touched-up state it was too truthful. Further, the almost complete absence of reference in C.S.1135 to the monks'

[1] F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, (Oxford, 1950), pp. 12 ff. and G. V. Scamell, *Hugh de Puiset* (Cambridge, 1956), ch. iv. *passim*.

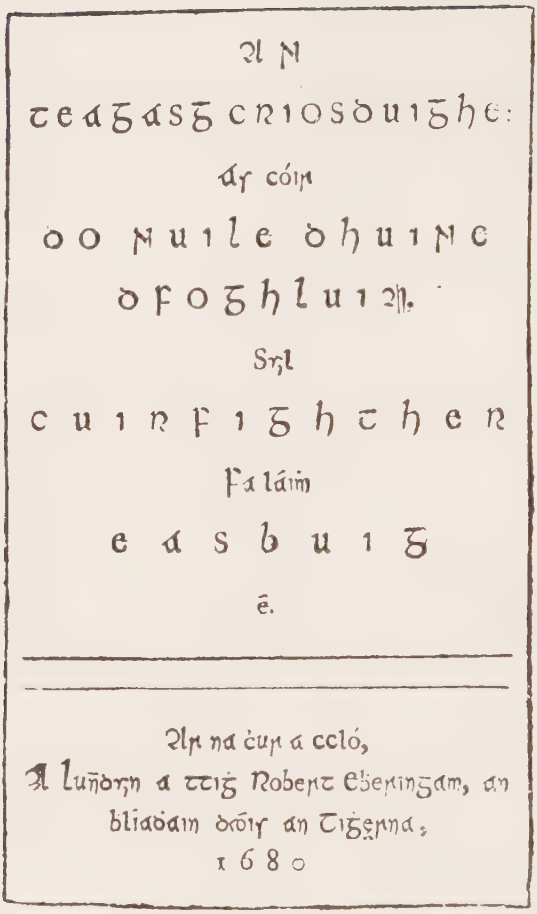
[2] The only surviving manuscript of the *Vita Oswaldi* comes from Worcester. Florence of Worcester certainly knew the *Vita*. Cf. *Flor. Wig.*, i. 140: "Hic namque regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos a monasteriis expelleret, et monachos sanctimonialesque in eis collocari juberet." This refers to Æthelwold and is derived from *H.C.Y.* i. 427: "Iste enim vero ipsum regem ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos a monasteriis expulit, et ut nostris ordinibus contulit, quia ejus erat eximius consiliarius." A curious passage in the *Ramsey Chronicle*, ed. Macray, 41, emphasizes Oswald's original abbatial authority at Worcester and says: "In cujus argumentum veritatis schedae quaedam in ecclesia nostra hodieque continentes." It sounds as though the Ramsey archives had been searched for evidence of the original position at Worcester. We do not know much about the date of the miscellaneous Ramsey chronicle, see *Writs*, p. 245, n. 1.

[3] *Flor. Wig.* i. 141; *H.C.Y.* i. 435.

ecclesiastical claims,[1] to any exemption from archidiaconal authority, all suggest that C.S.1135 had its present shape in the earlier rather than the later part of Wulfstan's pontificate.

No one who has looked at many tenth century charters can suppose that all this is a purely Worcester phenomenon. The Worcester documents are, however, comparatively straightforward. These disputes seem to have been of much shorter duration and much less bitter than was the case elsewhere; indeed the disputes seem to have been largely settled by Wulfstan's death. Consequently the litigation was simpler and the requirements of the evidence likewise. The longer such litigation went on, the more complicated canon-law became and the more unsuitable pre-Conquest documents were found as title-deeds. Quite apart from the local interest and bearing of each suit and set of documents, these fabricated or interpolated documents reflect attempts to adapt titles to privileges from the age of *eigenkirchen* to meet the needs of an age of canon-lawyers. It is therefore possible that a study of these dubious charters in the light of post-Conquest ecclesiastical litigation and the growth of ordinary jurisdiction, in fact and in the lawbooks, may help in recovering a good deal of authentic tenth-century material from the corruption of the forger.

[1] The only such reference is what seems likely to be a forged gloss on the expulsion of the clerks and the transfer of the Worcester endowment to monks: "sive ecclesiastica sive secularia tam mobilia quam immobilia." This sounds like an Anglo-Norman writ formula.


Al N

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Alr na cur a ccló,

A luñdṛn a tig Robert Ebringam, an

bliadain dōig an Tigerna,

1680

Pl. 1. Title page of *An Teagasg Criosduighe*, London, 1680 (British Museum). Evidently the first work to be printed from Moxon's Irish type.

ROBERT BOYLE AND THE IRISH BIBLE [1]

By R. E. W. MADDISON, B.Sc., Ph.D.

QUEEN ELIZABETH I in the thirteenth year of her reign (1570-1) paid a sum of money to the treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, to provide the necessary equipment to print the *Catechism* in the Irish language. From this first known fount of Irish type various works were printed, including in 1602 the *New Testament*, the translation of which had been completed by William Daniel (or O'Donnell), Archbishop of Tuam. It was not till many years later that any attempt was made to complete the translation of the *Bible* by adding the *Old Testament*. William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, about 1630, when he was well past middle age, decided to supply this need: he learned the Irish language, and with the assistance of other scholars completed the task by 1640. Bedell's intention to print this work at his own expense was frustrated by the troublesome times of the Irish Rebellion, and by his death in 1642.[2]

There was no further progress to make the Scriptures available in Irish till the 1670s, by which time the *New Testament* of 1602 was out of print and quite unobtainable, when we find that Robert Boyle, who was most zealous in his efforts to propagate knowledge of the Scriptures, was actively engaged "to acquaint the native Irish with the divine oracles." A document [3] dated

[1] I have to thank the Officers of the Royal Society for facilities to consult manuscript material in their possession and for permission to quote therefrom; and the Trustees of the British Museum and the Governors of the John Rylands Library for permission to reproduce the title pages used as illustrations.

[2] Bruce Dickins, "The Irish Broadside of 1571 and Queen Elizabeth's Types", *Trans. Camb. Bibl. Soc.*, i (1949), 48; Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Founders* (rev. edn. by A. F. Johnson, London, 1952), sections devoted to Irish type, and Moxon; E. W. Lynam, "The Irish Character in Print, 1571-1923", *The Library* [iv] vol. iv. (1924), 286; *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle: To which is prefixed The Life of the Author*, ed. Thomas Birch (6 vols., London, 1772, subsequently cited as *Works*), I. clxxxii, letter from Dopping to [Huntington], 14 December 1685.

[3] What part, if any, was played by Robert Boyle in drawing up this document is not evident. That it is amongst the Boyle Papers, and is written in the hand of Robin Bacon, Boyle's amanuensis, show at least Boyle's interest in the matter.

August 1675, which gives details of things that " are fit to be done in the Kingdom of Ireland . . . in nine years next ensuing . . . out of his Majesty's growing revenue ", includes as the fourth item : " That the Bible and Common Prayerbook be translated into Irish and printed in the vulgar character and that fit Persons be salariated to preach catechise and officiate in Irish, in every part of that kingdom weekly." [1] At a later date we find that Boyle is in correspondence with Andrew Sall [2] on this subject. In his letter of 17 December 1678 the latter reveals that he has been asked by Boyle to give his opinion on the proposed reprinting of the *New Testament* in Irish. To this proposal he offers his " obedientiall concurrence to the utmost of my power ", because of the scarcity of religious books in the vulgar tongue. With regard to the translation he points out that it may be achieved in two ways, " the one, of getting the credit of skill in the primitive ancient Irish, the other, of benefitting common readers by expressions now in use ". He advocates the latter method. He also offers the suggestion that the Irish text be printed with a Latin or English version in double columns in order to facilitate the learning of one or the other languages.[3] He reported to Boyle information that he had obtained from the Archbishop of Cashel [4] concerning parts of the *Bible* known to be printed or translated into Irish.[5]

In May 1680 Dr. Sall was in Dublin exerting himself on behalf of Boyle to secure the support of influential persons in Ireland for this project. Dr. Sall's letter of the 20th of that month says : " I conferred with my lord lieutenant,[6] my lord

[1] *Royal Society Boyle Papers*, vol. xl. It may be recalled that in the 1640s a scheme for salariated preachers in Scotland had been introduced by the Long Parliament, and that in the 1650s a similar scheme to establish a preaching ministry in Wales was proposed by the Fifth Monarchy leader Thomas Harrison. The failure to implement the latter scheme was in part responsible for the fall of the Barebones parliament. The provision of a Godly preaching ministry was a constantly recurring theme in Oliver Cromwell's speeches.

[2] (1612-82). Irish Jesuit educated at St. Omer. Converted to Church of England in 1674. D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, and Oxford.

[3] *Works*, vi. 591. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 17 December 1678.

[4] Thomas Price (1599-1685).

[5] *Works*, vi 593. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 5 April 1679.

[6] James Butler, Duke of Ormonde (1610-88).

bishop of Meath,[1] and with the provost of the college [2] upon the subject, and I found all three very willing to countenance and further the matter. I doubt not to find the same inclination in my lord primate [3] and other worthy persons. All do accordingly honour and commend your piety in reprinting the Irish testament, and do rejoice at the notice I gave them of the forwardness that work is in already by your means. I find both my lord bishop of Meath and the provost willing to contrive the reading of it, and of Irish prayers in the college. . . . I pray be pleased to let me know, how forward that business is now in print. . . . I pray let me know, whether you may think fit to trust me with the help of other better judgments here to compile the preface to this edition, and what things you may think fit to add in it, to what I judge necessary to express of the authors and advancers of that work both now and in the first edition." [4] The letter further discloses that a certain Mr. Rely (or Reilly) has been entrusted with the task of preparing the copy and seeing it through the press: the letter closes with a request for a specimen of the subscription form used on the occasion of printing the Welsh Bible.[5]

The project had now become so far advanced that arrangements could be made for printing, as the following memorandum of agreement shows: [6]

Memorandum, that it is agreed this third day of June 1680 between y^e^ Hon^ble^ Robert Boyle Esq. & Robert Everingham Printer, y^t^ y^e^ s^d^ Robert Everingham shall print five hundred books of y^e^ new Testament in Irish att twenty seven shill. per sheet, about y^e^ size of y^e^ Testament formerly printed in y^t^ language. Jtem, y^t^ y^e^ s^d^ Everingham shall print eight sheets thereof for y^e^ first month, commencing y^e^ seventh instant, & for every month afterwards ten sheets per month,

[1] Henry Jones (1605-82).

[2] Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713). D.D., Oxford. Orientalist; lord justice of Ireland; Archbishop of Cashel, translated to Armagh.

[3] Michael Boyle (1609?–1702). D.D., Oxford. Privy councillor in Ireland, Archbishop of Armagh.

[4] *Works*, vi 594. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 20 May 1680.

[5] Copies of these forms were sent by Boyle to the Bishop of Meath about February 1681, but went astray (*Works*, i. p. clxxiii, letter from Boyle to Jones, [8 April 1681]; ibid., i. p. clxxiv, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 May 1681; ibid., i. p. clxxviii, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 September 1681; ibid., i. p. clxxix, letter from Boyle to Jones, [27 September 1681]; ibid., i. p. clxxx, letter from Jones to Boyle, 5 November 1681).

[6] *Royal Society Boyle Papers*, iv, fol. 102.

untill y^e^ whole book be printed. And in case of failure through any default on his side, then he shall forfeit ten shill. for each week he failes of y^e^ time aforesaid. Jn witness whereof both partyes interchangeably have hereunto put their hands, y^e^ day & year first above written.

Rob^t^ Everingham.

At some stage in making these arrangements it must have been realized that there was a total absence of Irish printing type in this country. Furthermore, all the punches, matrices and characters associated with the Queen Elizabeth type used to print the 1602 edition of the *New Testament* had completely disappeared. The last use of this type in any book printed at Dublin was in 1656, though some few Irish words in the same type appeared in certain books printed at London in 1656-8.[1] The disappearance of these characters was explained thus by the Bishop of Meath to Robert Boyle : " they had passed from hand to hand of many of his Majesty's printers in Dublin successively, until by covetousness of one, into whose hands they fell unhappily, they were by the Jesuits gotten away, and are now at Doway,[2] for Irish prints." [3] This story, however, is certainly groundless, since no works of continental origin in which this type has been used are known.[4] In the circumstances it became necessary to prepare a fresh fount of type. Robert Boyle himself refers to this as " the letters I caused to be cast " ; [5] " and all the designe I had in having them cut off was, that they might be in a readiness to print useful books in Irish " ; [6] whilst the preface to the new edition of the *New Testament* says that he " caused a new set of fair Irish characters to be cast in London, by a skilful artisan ".[7] The founding of this new type was evidently entrusted to Joseph

[1] Bruce Dickins, op. cit., i. 48 ; Talbot Baines Reed, op. cit., sections devoted to Irish type, and Moxon.

[2] The Jesuits had established a college at Douai in 1568, which had become the continental centre for Jesuit missions to the British Isles.

[3] *Works*, i. p. clxxii. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 4 August 1680.

[4] Talbot Baines Reed, op. cit., sections devoted to Irish type, and Moxon ; E. W. Lynam, op. cit., vol. iv., 286.

[5] *Works*, i. p. clxxix. Letter from Boyle to Jones [27 September 1681].

[6] Henry Joseph Monck Mason, *The Life of William Bedell* (London, 1843), p. 300. Letter from Boyle to Marsh, 17 January 1681/2.

[7] *Works*, i. p. clxxxiii. Preface to the Irish New Testament.

Moxon,[1] who produced a set of characters of Small Pica Irish, which remained the sole fount of Irish type in this country until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[2] Some larger characters were made for use as initials and for title pages. Documentary evidence of Boyle's dealings with Moxon does not seem to be forthcoming. It has been suggested that Dr. Sall, who, as an Irishman and former Jesuit from Douai, would have been familiar with Irish works printed on the continent, provided Moxon with a design for the Irish character, using as a basis what is known as the " Louvain type A ", which had been used for a number of years by the exiled Irish Franciscans at the press established by them in the Spanish Netherlands. The design of this particular type was based on Irish manuscript style, and because of its slope resembles italic. Moxon's design sets the characters upright; they are of uniform size, and well spaced.[3] Some of the original punches of Moxon's Irish type still exist and are in the possession of Messrs Stephenson Blake & Co., Ltd., Sheffield.[4]

The Bishop of Meath in his letter of 4 August 1680 to Boyle suggests that the *Old Testament* as well as the *Psalms* in metre should be printed in Irish. To this end he offered Bedell's translation of the *Old Testament*, since he was in possession of the sheets and manuscript thereof, which had come into his hands after the death of that prelate. " This compleating the bible in Irish, and added to what is already printed, would be a work greatly to God's glory." He mentions, too, that in the past he had found in political circles considerable opposition to such a scheme, and indeed a desire to suppress the Irish language completely.[5] Dr. Sall confirms this in one of his letters: " But beside the private opposition of the Romish clergy, who would have themselves to be the only teachers, we have a more public and bolder opposition by some of our own apparent but

[1] (1627—not later than 1692.) Mathematical instrument maker. Hydrographer to the king. Writer on scientific and mathematical subjects. Typefounder. F.R.S.

[2] Talbot Baines Reed, op. cit., sections devoted to Irish type, and Moxon.

[3] E. W. Lynam, op. cit., vol. iv., 286.

[4] Private communications dated 15 August and 26 August 1955 from H. W. Stephenson and J. B. Blake, respectively.

[5] *Works*, i. p. clxxii. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 4 August 1680.

false brethren, who are not ashamed to profess a dislike of our endeavours to convert the natives of this country, upon maxims like those of the American planters, in hindering the conversion of their slaves to the Christian religion. . . . Our good archbishop has continual battles with them upon this subject." [1] Dr. Marsh subsequently recorded: "I have gotten a great deal of ill will from some great men in this kingdom for what I have done in promoting this good and charitable work, which has been no small discouragement to me." The lord lieutenant "was surprised to hear what I related of the discouragements (and indeed threats) that I have had on this account. The unwelcomeness of this undertaking to many in this country, I believe, was the reason, why the bishop of Meath [2] flew off from prosecuting what he designed and promised, and has ever since been wholly unconcerned, and sat neuter." [3]

Dr. Sall's letter of 26 October 1680 [4] discloses that Boyle and his sister Katherine, Viscountess Ranelagh, had expressed a wish for a catechism in Irish, and that he had been working on this, using as a basis two earlier works printed in Irish. One of these [5] contained "Brief and plain Rules for the reading of the Irish Tongue", which Dr. Sall suggested could with advantage be included in the *New Testament* then in course of preparation. The suggestion was not adopted. However, the catechism (*An Teagasg Criosduighe*), which is a small fourteen page pamphlet containing in addition the elements of the Irish language, was printed by Robert Everingham in 1680, this, no doubt, being the first work to use Moxon's type.

[1] *Works*, vi. 595. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 26 October 1680. See p. 100 on the objections to printing the *Bible* in Irish for the Scottish highlands. Such objections were still sufficiently strong to warrant serious consideration even in 1830 (H. J. M. Mason, *Reasons and Authorities, and Facts afforded by the History of the Irish Society, respecting the duty of Employing the Irish Language as a more general Medium for conveying Scriptural Instruction to the Native Peasantry of Ireland*, Edinburgh, 1830).

[2] Anthony Dopping, successor to Henry Jones.

[3] *Works*, vi. 609. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 22 March 1685/6.

[4] The printed version in *Works* gives this date as 16. Examination of the original shows that this is most probably 26, which I consider is supported by the postmark "OC—30".

[5] *The Christian Doctrine, or the Foundation of Christian Religion. Gathered into Six Principles.* Translated into Irish by Godfrey Daniel. Dublin, 1652.

The printing of the Irish *New Testament* evidently did not progress according to plan. Boyle in April 1681 tells the Bishop of Meath, "the press, that was to print it, having, as well as others here, been so taken up with pamphlets [1] of several sizes and kinds, that till of late our work was almost quite laid aside; but now, for want of other employment, I hope the printer will resume it, and vigorously pursue it, partly because he has promised to do so, and partly because he is so far advanced, that he says, there is but five or six sheets remaining to be printed off".[2] In September he says: "I lately expostulated with Mr. Reily about the shameful tardiness of the edition of the New Testament; for which he much excuses himself, laying the whole blame upon the printer . . . it is not fit all the exemplars of the New Testament should stay for the preface (whatever that be) and accordingly I caused copies to be bound the ordinary way, besides [blank] much more handsomely bound, for the present use of the members of the college, and some other persons that your lordship or Dr. Marsh shall think fit to send any to."[3] About fifty copies of the book bound, and about 350 copies in sheets were sent overland via Chester instead of by the cheaper long sea route so as to ensure a speedier arrival in Dublin. They were safely received and acknowledged by the Bishop of Meath on 5 November 1681:

As to those books sent over bound, 40, according to your directions, are left with the provost for the present use of the college.

Some also of the books of the better sort of binding, were presented as from yourself to those great persons in yours named. Only I presumed to present one of them to the lord lieutenant the duke of Ormonde, as from yourself (although not mentioned) and found it well accepted by his lordship. I conceived this necessary, for having his lordship's countenance in that great business when occasion should require, there being many adversaries.

That which gives greatest hopes of success in this, is our good provost's care and zeal in training up the present youth in the college in reading the Irish, which by the books from you now in their hands is much forwarded.[4]

An unexpected revelation is made in Dr. Sall's letter of October 1680, when he says: "I fully approve of your motion to

[1] Presumably in connection with the controversy over the Exclusion Bill.

[2] *Works*, i. p. clxxiii, letter from Boyle to Jones [8 April 1681]; ibid., i. p. clxxvi, letter from Jones to Marsh, 1 August 1681.

[3] Ibid., i. p. clxxix. Letter from Boyle to Jones [27 September 1681].

[4] Ibid., i. p. clxxx. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 5 November 1681.

apply in the preface what yourself and those other worthies shall think fit of that used by the Jansenists in their French version, and am not a little joyed to hear so great an advance to right in the Romish church, as to suffer the word of God to come unto vulgar tongues. My only intention for intervening in the preface was to secure, that the memory of the first and present patron of that work may not be concealed from grateful posterity."[1] The Jansenists, of whom Calamy wrote that they appeared to him " to have as good notions of many points in religion, and to be as sober in their lives and conversations, as any of the Protestants ",[2] and who were regarded in some non-Roman Catholic circles as " the better sort of Romanists ",[3] had published in 1667 a French translation of the *New Testament*,[4] as a practical expression of their belief that every Christian should have free access to the Scriptures. This belief conformed exactly to Boyle's own, and he, who had seen the preface to the French *New Testament*, but had not, as he himself later admitted,[5] read it with close attention, thought that it could be suitably used to the same purpose in the Irish translation sponsored by him. He was not alone in his view. Boyle's letter to the Bishop of Meath discloses that " the most intelligent divine I have advised with here about it is earnest to have the preface, that the Jansenists have premised to their translation of the new testament ; which being a piece of great learning and piety, and much esteemed by the better sort of the Romanists themselves, it is judged, that if it be published in English with no more alterations and additions, than the exigency of our design requires, it may very much recommend the introduction of the Irish testament to the better sort of Papists themselves, for whose benefit it was chiefly made ".[6] The Bishop of Meath, obviously influenced by Boyle's remarks,

[1] *Works*, vi. 595. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 26 October 1680.

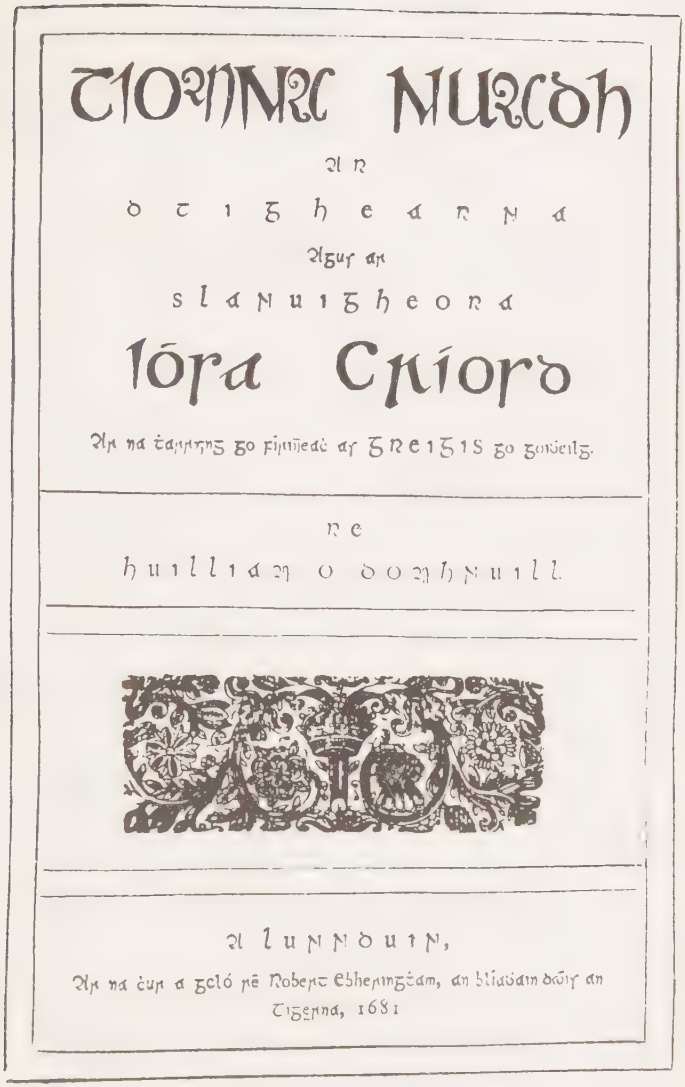
[2] Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of my own Life*, ed. J. T. Rutt (London, 1829), i. 171.

[3] *Works*, i, p. clxxiii, letter from Boyle to Jones [8 April 1681] ; ibid., i. p. clxxiv, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 May 1681.

[4] Known as the Port Royal version ; and also as the *Nouveau Testament* de Mons, since it bore the imprint " A Mons ", although printed by Daniel Elzevier at Amsterdam.

[5] *Works*, i, p. clxxix. Letter from Boyle to Jones [27 September 1681].

[6] Ibid., i, p. clxxiii. Letter from Boyle to Jones [8 April 1681].


Tiomna Nuadh

An

Dtighearna

Agus an

Slanuighеora

Iósa Criosd

Ar na tarruing go fuinneadh as Greigis go Gaoidheilg.

Le

Huilliam O Domhnuill.

Alunndoin,

Ar na cur a gcló le Robert Ebheringeam, an bliadain dhoibh an Tigeirna, 1681

Pl. 2. Title page of *Tiomna Nuadh*, London, 1681 (British Museum). The second edition of the *New Testament* in Irish.

LEABHUIR

NA

Seintiomna

AN NA

Tṙaṁṁṫṫ ⁊ gaiḋiḃ ṫṙe ėůṙam ⁊ ůṡėṁaṙ an Ḋocṫůiṙ

UILLIAM BEDEL,

Roiṁe ro Eaṙḃuḃ Chille móiṙe a Néṁṫ,

Agus anoiṙ an na ccuṙ a ccló ėum maiṫiuṙ ṙṫḃliuḋe na Tiṁeṙin.

The BOOKS of the

OLD TESTAMENT

Tranſlated into IRISH by the Care and Diligence of

Doctor WILLIAM BEDEL,

Late Biſhop of *Kilmore* in *IRELAND*,

AND,

For the publick good of that Nation,

Printed at *London*, *Anno Dom.* MDCLXXXV.

Pl. 3. Title page of *Leabhuir na Seintiomna*, London, 1685 (The John Rylands Library). The first edition of the *Old Testament* in Irish.

A N

BIOBLA NAOMHTHA,

IONA BHFUIL

Leabhair na Seintiomna

Ar na ttarruing as an EABHRA go Goidhelg tré chúram agus dhúthrachd an Doctuir,

VILLIAM BEDEL,

Roimhe ſo Easbug Chille móire a Néirinn:

AGUS

Na Tiomna Nuaidhe,

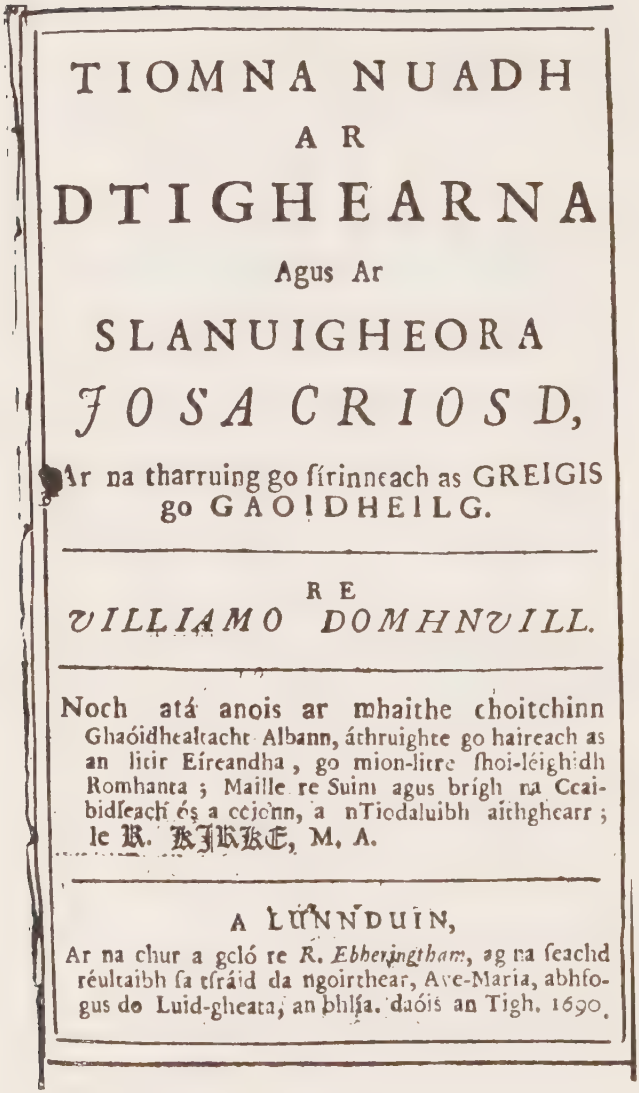
Ar na ttabhairt
Go fírinneach as GREIGIS go Goidhelg, re

VILLIAM O DOMHNUILL.

Noch atá anois chum maitheas coitcheann na nGaóidheail Albanach, áthruighte go haireach as an litir Eireandha chum na mion-litre ſhoi-léighidh Romhanta ; Maille re Suim agus brígh na Ccaibidlęach ós a ccionn, a nTiodaluibh aithghearr ; Re claraibh fós, ag míniughadh na mFocal budh deacraigh ré na ttuigſin, le R. K. M. A.

A LUNNDUIN,
Ar na chur a gcló re *R. Ebberingtham*, ag na ſeachd réultaibh ſa tſráid da ngoirthear, Ave-Maria, abhfochair Luid-gheata, an bhlía. daóis an Tigh. 1690.

Pl. 4. Title page of *An Biobla Naomhtha*, London, 1690 (British Museum). An edition of the Irish Bible produced for the Highlands of Scotland with a transliteration from Irish to Roman characters.



TIOMNA NUADH

AR

DTIGHEARNA

Agus Ar

SLANUIGHEORA

JOSA CRIOSD,

Ar na tharruing go fírinneach as GREIGIS go GAOIDHEILG.

RE

VILLIAMO DOMHNUILL.

Noch atá anois ar mhaithe choitchinn Ghaóidhealtacht Albann, áthruighte go haireach as an litir Eireandha, go mion-litre ſhoi-léighidh Romhanta; Maille re Suim agus brígh na Ccaibidſeach ós a ccionn, a nTiodaluibh aithghearr; le R. KIRKE, M. A.

A LUNNDUIN,

Ar na chur a gcló re *R. Ebberingtham*, ag na ſeachd réultaibh ſa tſráid da ngoirthear, Ave-Maria, abhfogus do Luid-gheata, an bhlſa. daóis an Tigh. 1690.

Pl. 5. Title page of *Tiomna Nuadh*, London, 1690 (British Museum). Title page of the *New Testament* contained in *An Biobla Naomhtha*.

replied : " yet can I not but well approve of your thoughts for translating, printing, and affixing that to our Irish new testament also." [1]

Robert Boyle had promised to send a translation of the preface for perusal by the Bishop of Meath and Dr. Sall,[2] but before he could do so, the Bishop had, through Dr. Sall, secured a copy of the French *New Testament*, and caused the preface to be translated. After he had read it, the Bishop was not so happy about the desirability of using this Jansenist preface as it stood, because of, amongst other things, the " harsh reflections on some of the more eminent and leading protestant reformers ". He wrote, therefore, to Dr. Marsh to ask his advice on the wisdom of rewriting the preface, omitting the offending passages. In view of the great need for the *New Testament* in Irish, he was not in favour of delaying its publication any further solely on account of a preface, which he suggested might equally well find a place with the projected Irish version of the *Old Testament* or the *Common Prayer Book*.[3] Dr. Marsh replied that the preface, although well suited to the purpose of the French translators, would not be entirely acceptable to protestants ; and he gave the following five reasons :[4]

1. There are some reflections in it a little too severe on protestant translators, which cannot well be countenanced by us. 2. There is a sentence or two, which I observed in the original, to savour too much of popery to pass a protestant press. 3. Part of the preface is spent in shewing the imperfections of the old French translation of the New Testament, and why a new French translation thereof is requisite ; which would be besides the purpose, should this preface be printed with any other translation. 4. Many paragraphs are written to shew, what rules were observed in this French translation ; some whereof cannot, and I believe others do not agree to any other translation ; and therefore that also would be besides the purpose. 5. The authors of that preface have bestowed not a little pains to shew, how difficult (if not impossible) a thing it is to make an exact translation of the Bible ; which though true, yet whether it be adviseable, that it should be known to the commonalty of this kingdom (who are already but too much addicted to the vulgar, which they esteem as authentic) is worth while to consider.[5]

[1] *Works*, i, p. clxxiv. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 May 1681.
[2] Ibid., i, p. clxxiii. Letter from Boyle to Jones [8 April 1681].
[3] Ibid., i, p. clxxvi. Letter from Jones to Marsh, 1 August 1681.
[4] Ibid., vi, 601. Letter from Marsh to Jones, 27 August 1681.
[5] It is interesting to note Dr. Marsh's understanding of the prejudices of the native. At a much later date we are informed that " Irish Testaments have

These views were communicated to Robert Boyle, with the information that "Dr. Sall speaks of preparing a preface, he hopes, fit for our purpose; which, when perused and allowed by you, shall be after translated into Irish".[1] Boyle replied:

As to the version of the Jansenists preface, I must ingenuously confess to your lordship, that the book itself, to which it is prefixed, having been got from me, by a person of quality, before I had read more than here and there some passages of the preface, I did, in recommending it, rely less upon my own judgment, than that of a very learned and famous divine, and some other persons of eminent parts. And though I was aware of some of the objections, that I find in the two judicious papers, and had with Mr. Reily taken order to have them obviated in his translation into Irish, yet I meet with some weighty ones that I did not (and indeed could not) well know of; and therefore, as your lordship may remember, that in proposing this preface, I was ready to submit to the better judgment of your lordship and your learned friends upon the place, so now, upon fresh accounts, I fully refer to you the prefixing what preface shall be thought most suitable to the design of the publication, and the particular circumstances of it and the versions: in which work I am very glad your lordship will have so good an assistant as Dr. Sall, who is so able a man, that I doubt not but he will skilfully accommodate his discourse to them. Only, perhaps, it may be thought fit to make use of some passages of the Jansenists preface, not as it is a preface, but as it contains the public avowed sense, and eloquently exhibits the reasons of famous and eminent divines of the Roman church for the translating and studying the New Testament in vulgar tongues.[2]

So Dr. Sall came to be entrusted with the composition of the preface to the Irish testament. In his letter of 8 November 1681 to Boyle he says:

I have finished the preface . . . and when a copy is drawn of it, I will send to you speedily the original. I have seen the Jansenian preface, and made of it the very use you mentioned in your letter to my lord bishop of Meath, both for my readiness to obey you, and the reasonableness of your command herein. . . . His grace would

reconciled the people to those of the English version. . . . The peasant is assiduously instructed to consider the Protestant Bible to be an heretical book, but nothing will persuade him that heresy can be uttered in his native tongue, and he imagines that Satan is dumb in it—an opinion that has been industriously encouraged; when, therefore, the peasant is possessed of the Scriptures in that language, curiosity and other motives induce him to institute a comparison of them with the supposed book of Satan. He finds them to agree; and, becoming at once emancipated from some part of his former delusions, he ardently desires to possess, to examine the English Bible, were it only that it might serve as 'the construer,' as some of them have called it, to certain passages of the Irish. This result has occurred wherever the experiment has been fairly tried" (H. J. M. Mason, *Reasons and Authorities* . . ., Edinburgh, 1830, p. 11).

[1] *Works*, i, p. clxxviii. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 September 1681.

[2] Ibid., i, p. clxxix. Letter from Boyle to Jones [27 September 1681].

be glad to see my preface in English, to understand better the drift and profit of this undertaking ; for which cause our learned friends do think it convenient, it should be prefixed in both languages to this new edition ; and I think no person fitter to translate it than Mr. Rely, nor any printer fitter than the same formerly employed.[1]

On 19 November 1681 Dr. Sall sent his preface to Robert Boyle :

My lord bishop of Meath, the provost, and our other learned friends, who saw it, do think it apposite and suitable to the genius of the people here, for inducing them to the reading of that book. . . . I have added, in compliance with your direction, to let the people know the sentiment and practice of learned men in the Roman church, about turning the holy scripture into vulgar languages. Our friends now mentioned do think convenient, that this preface should be prefixed to the book both in English and in Irish, that such as cannot read or understand the latter, may, by the former, perceive the profit of this undertaking. . . . But I am to beg earnestly of you not to abridge any thing of the very dry and spare mention made in the preface of your holy zeal, in providing for the good of souls in this country, that it may be an encouragement to others to follow your example, and a confusion to such, as will not do it. The fear of offending your severe modesty stopt my pen from writing much more, which my judgement and inclination would prompt to me ; but once again I beg of you not to hinder any thing of the very little that is said.[2]

The preface, addressed " to the Christian people of Ireland ", opens in a delightful vein : " Here you have, dear countrymen, the new testament of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ presented unto you, in your country garment, translated unto the Irish tongue ; and therein the most noble, the most important, and, to well disposed minds, the most pleasant reading, that possibly can be offered to their view." [3] It was approved by Boyle before 29 November 1681,[4] and printed off within the next four months, since Dr. Sall in his letter to Boyle on 7 February 1681/2 asks him, " how you will have the three hundred and fifty testaments, now to be bound with the preface, to be disposed ;" [5] and Dr. Marsh on 8 April 1682 writes : " I have newly received the prefaces to the Irish testaments, which as soon as bound, shall be distributed so as may best answer the end of your printing them." [6] The binding was completed by about

[1] *Works*, vi, 596. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 8 November 1681.
[2] Ibid., vi. 597. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 19 November 1681.
[3] Ibid., i, p. clxxxiii. Preface to the Irish New Testament.
[4] Ibid., vi. 597. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 13 December 1681.
[5] Ibid., vi. 598. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 7 February 1681/2.
[6] Ibid., vi. 603. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 8 April 1682.

the end of June 1682,[1] and copies were subsequently distributed, 100 going to Cashell in October.[2] Copies of this *New Testament* [3] without the preface, which occasionally appear on the market, are the early bound copies sent by Boyle for presentation to important persons and Trinity College, Dublin. Although Boyle contracted for 500 copies, at least another 180 were printed (see below). In view of the delay that occurred in printing this work, one would like to know whether or not the penalty clause in the agreement with the printer Robert Everingham was ever invoked.

These testaments in the Irish language were joyfully received. Paul Higgin [4] reveals that it is the only book they have in that language except Geoffrey Keating's work on the history of Ireland.[5] Dr. Marsh says, " that the whole design of teaching Irish must of necessity have fallen to the ground in a very little time, had not you seasonably assisted and encouraged the undertaking by your books, as well as otherwise ".[6]

As the work of preparation of the Irish *New Testament* progressed, suggestions for the printing of other works in that language were made by interested parties. We have seen that Boyle and his sister proposed a catechism, which was duly printed. The Bishop of Meath suggested the publication of the *Old Testament* together with the *Psalms* in metre.[7] He proposed in addition the reprinting of the *Common Prayer Book*.[8] Dr. Marsh proposed a compendious Irish grammar,[9] for which

[1] *Works*, vi. 603. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 23 June 1682.

[2] Ibid., vi. 605. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 30 September 1682.

[3] *Tiomna Nuadh*, London, 1681.

[4] Lecturer and preacher in Irish at Trinity College, Dublin. Like Dr. Sall he was a convert from Roman Catholicism ; both complained that they had not received expected advancement in the Churches of England or Ireland. One feels that some of these converts were persuaded to become proselytes by the prospect of preferment in the Church. See also the case of Mr. Mullan, *infra*.

[5] *Royal Society Boyle Letters*. Letter from Higgin to Boyle, 26 November 1681.

[6] *Works*, vi. 602. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 27 December 1681.

[7] Ibid., i, p. clxxii. Letter from Jones to Boyle, 4 August 1680.

[8] Ibid., i, p. clxxiv, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 May 1681 ; i, p. clxxvi, letter from Jones to Marsh, 1 August 1681 ; i, p. clxxviii, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 September 1681.

[9] Ibid., vi. 602, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 27 December 1681 ; vi. 603, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 8 April 1682 ; vi. 607, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 17 February 1683/4 ; vi. 607, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 24 August 1685.

Boyle laid by some money.[1] Dr. Huntington [2] wanted extra copies of the *Psalms* to be printed, so that they could be appended at a suitable moment to the *Common Prayer Book*.[3] With all these different wishes expressed, it was natural that at times there was some conflict of opinion as to what should be given preference. The printing of the *New Testament* having been completed, attention was next devoted to the *Old Testament*, towards the expenses of which Boyle, as early as April 1681, had already provided fifty pounds.[4]

The manuscript of William Bedell's Irish version of the *Old Testament* came eventually after his death into the possession of Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath,[5] who sent it [6] to Dr. Sall—

> a confused heap, pitifully defaced and broken. It was a work of very great labour, to bring it into some order. I sent for a bookbinder to bind up what I could gather, of which and another uncouth bulk, sent to me from the college, I hope to make up a complete testament, by the help of God, and of Mr. Higgin the Irish lecturer, if he be encouraged by our prelates, wherein I wish they may be more zealous than accustomed to be. It will be a work of great labour, and no little time, to draw up a clear copy of the whole, purged from errors and foolish additions or alterations, interlaced by some unlucky corrector, pretending to criticism in Irish.[7]

On 7 February 1681/2 Dr. Sall informed Boyle that he had found an able person to write Irish and that eight chapters of Genesis had already been transcribed. As the copying proceeded it became evident that some revision of the Irish text would be necessary.[8] On this Boyle commented, " I see no necessity that the work should be thereby retarded ",[9] and extracted

Mason, *The Life of William Bedell*, p. 300, letter from Boyle to Marsh, 17 January 1681/2.

[1] *Works*, vi. 43. Letter from Boyle to [Marsh], after 8 April 1682.

[2] Robert Huntington (1637-1701). Orientalist. Succeeded Narcissus Marsh as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Afterwards Bishop of Raphoe.

[3] *Works*, vi. 617. Letter from Huntington to Boyle, 24 March 1684 5.

[4] Ibid., i, p. clxxiii, letter from Boyle to Jones [8 April 1681] ; i, p. clxxiv, letter from Boyle to Champanty, 9 April 1681 ; i, p. clxxiv, letter from Jones to Boyle, 3 May 1681.

[5] Ibid., i, p. clxxii, letter from Jones to Boyle, 4 August 1680 ; i, p. clxxxii, letter from Dopping to [Huntington], 14 December 1685.

[6] Ibid., i, p. clxxx, letter from Jones to Boyle, 5 November 1681 ; vi. 596, letter from Sall to Boyle, 8 November 1681.

[7] Ibid., vi. 597. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 13 December 1681.

[8] Ibid., vi. 598. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 7 February 1681/2.

[9] Ibid., i, p. clxxix. Letter from Boyle to Jones [27 September 1681].

a promise from Mr. Reily, who had had charge of the printing arrangements for the *New Testament*, that there would be no delay with the printing of the *Old Testament*.

On 5 April 1682 Dr. Sall died, and the bad news was conveyed to Boyle by Dr. Marsh. "The design of printing the Old Testament in the same language has received a great (though I hope not a fatal) stroke by the death of Dr. Sall . . . I intend, that the revising of that old translation of the Old Testament, and its transcription shall nevertheless go on with the help of Mr. Higgins and some other Irishmen, whom I will call in to assist." [1] In June 1682 Dr. Marsh says, "I have taken upon me the care to see the Irish Bible transcribed and fitted for the press. The work goes on successfully, there being above a hundred and forty sheets transcribed already. All our care at present is, how to get the charges of transcribing and printing it to be defrayed, which must be done by subscriptions." [2] This matter of securing subscriptions recurs often in the correspondence; it seems that the subscription scheme was a failure,[3] and that Boyle defrayed most if not all of the charges.[4] The work went steadily if slowly forward; a demand for funds with which to pay the transcriber and give encouragement to the printer was met by Boyle;[5] troubles with inaccuracies, which appeared in the transcription in spite of the diligence of Dr. Sall and Mr. Higgin, were overcome;[6] decisions about marginal renderings were made, as well as upon emendations to the translation suggested by Mr. Reily.[7] The first eight chapters of Genesis had been copied out by the first week of February 1682;[8] the scribe had nearly

[1] *Works*, vi. 603. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 8 April 1682.

[2] Ibid., vi. 603. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 23 June 1682.

[3] Ibid., vi. 603, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 8 April 1682; vi. 603, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 23 June 1682; vi. 604, letter from Boyle to Marsh, 1 August 1682; i, p. clxxxi, letter from Dopping to Boyle, 3 August 1682; vi. 607, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 17 February 1682/3.

[4] Ibid., vi. 43. Letter from Boyle to [Marsh], after 8 April 1682.

[5] Ibid., vi. 604. Letter from Boyle to Marsh, 1 August 1682.

[6] Ibid., vi. 605, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 30 September 1682; vi. 607, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 17 February 1682/3.

[7] Ibid., vi. 605, letter from Marsh to Boyle, 30 September 1682; vi. 616, letter from Huntington to Boyle, 12 January 1683/4; vi. 617, letter from Huntington to Boyle, 21 February 1684/5.

[8] Ibid., vi. 598. Letter from Sall to Boyle, 7 February 1681/2.

completed the Pentateuch by the end of September ; [1] he had got to the end of Jeremiah by the middle of February 1683 ; [2] the Apocrypha was nearly all transcribed by the end of August 1685 ; [3] and in December consideration was being given to the composition of the preface.[4] The first sheet of Genesis was printed off in April 1682,[5] and the Psalms were being printed in March 1685.[6] The remainder of the sheets, with the exception of the Apocrypha, which Boyle declined to print,[7] were run off before the end of 1685, which is the imprint date of the *Old Testament*.[8]

Dr. Marsh (he was now Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin), when rendering his account of the disbursement of the sum of fifty pounds provided by Boyle towards the expenses of the *Old Testament*, thought that the charges of transcription were unduly high. His account was :

	£	s	d
Paid for transcribing 719½ sheets	35	19	6
For pens, ink, and paper (whereof 18 quires were 8d. per quire, the rest 6d.)		18	0
For translating 17 psalms, that were wanting	3	0	0
To Mr. Mullan, for revising the transcript	4	10	0
At the Custom-house for the Irish Testament		9	2
	44	16	8

After deducting £7 17s. as the estimated cost of transcribing 157 sheets of the *Apocrypha*, which was not printed, the cost of transcription was £28 2s. 6d.[9] Although these charges exceeded what the bishop and Boyle expected, it does seem that the drudges who carried out the transcription and revision of the text were not treated as generously as they might have been. The bishop tells us :

[1] *Works*, vi. 605. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 30 September 1682.
[2] Ibid., vi. 607. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 17 February 1682/3.
[3] Ibid., vi. 607. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 24 August 1685.
[4] Ibid., i, p. clxxxii. Letter from Dopping to [Huntington], 14 December 1685.
[5] Ibid., vi. 43. Letter from Boyle to [Marsh], after 8 April 1682.
[6] Ibid., vi. 617. Letter from Huntington to Boyle, 24 March 1684/5.
[7] Ibid., vi. 607. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 24 August 1685.
[8] *Leabhuir na Seintoma*, London, 1685.
[9] *Works*, vi. 607. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 24 August 1685.

Dr. Sall, in his life time, agreed for transcribing the whole Irish Bible, at twelve pence per sheet; which was not very dear, considering how difficult a thing it was to read the copy; it being in many places not legible, and in others several words together quite effaced, either through age or ill usage, or both; the book also having taken wet, whereupon he was forced to translate passages here and there anew. The scribe moreover had the advantage of his diet at Dr. Sall's, and of writing in his house; neither of which I could grant him in the college; and therefore he was earnest to have an allowance made for that, beyond his twelvepence per sheet; which not being part of his bargain, I did not think it reasonable to yield thereunto; though some advantage he did make in another respect, by writing in smaller paper than he at first begun upon, because no larger was then to be gotten in town.[1]

Mr. Mullan, who had received £4 10s. for revising the transcript, did not think he had been adequately paid, for he refused to hand over the *Apocrypha*. "He refuses to deliver it . . . unless I will pay him twenty pounds for his labour of reading it over, which I think is very unreasonable, and that he has had enough already."[2] "I attribute this manner of acting to have proceeded from Mr. Mullan's miserable poverty; who, though a divine, a convert, and reasonably well learned, has not yet been so fortunate, as to get any preferment, nor [have] I been able to bestow any upon him, as I have long designed."[3] However, Boyle authorized the bestowal of some money on Mr. Mullan in order to redeem the transcript. "Accordingly, by the advice of Dr. Huntington, our worthy provost, I gave him ten plate cobs,[4] in your [sc. R. Boyle] name, and redeemed the copy, which I lodged with Dr. Huntington, to be sent to you, when there shall be an opportunity, as you shall require."[5]

Fifty advance copies of the *Old Testament* without title page or preface[6] were received in March 1686 by Dr. Huntington from Boyle to be distributed as gifts. These copies were sent over in sheets in order to avoid custom-house charges, and were bound in calf at fifteen pence apiece. Dr. Huntington's comment on receiving them was: "We are not under such circumstances

[1] *Works*, vi. 608. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 24 August 1685. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., vi. 609. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 22 March 1685/6.
[4] Spanish dollar. Robert Boyle was debited £2 7s. 6d. for this disbursement.
[5] *Works*, vi. 609. Letter from Marsh to Boyle, 22 March 1685/6.
[6] These were still not available in May 1686, when William Hussey, a merchant, of Mark Lane, London, was enquiring about them on behalf of Dr. Huntington. (*Works*, vi. 615, letter from Hussey to Boyle, 8 May [1686]).

as may encourage me to believe the Irish will be very fond of this translation : however, it must be known you have done more for them than all their priests ever did ; and the reason is plain, because your design and theirs is mighty different, you intending nothing else but to make them knowing and wise unto salvation." [1] A title page for the *Old Testament* was eventually produced, but the preface seems not to have materialized.

It is regrettable that so many of Boyle's letters dealing with the Irish Bible are not available. A batch of twenty of them on this subject written to Dr. Marsh was in the possession of Monck Mason about 1828. One of these contained the estimate of the printer " for the expense of the work ; [2] which, including the paper, amounted to £333 ".[3] According to Burnet, Boyle incurred charges of about £700 in the production of both testaments.[4]

James Kirkwood,[5] soon after he had made the acquaintance of Boyle, discussed with him " the sad state of religion in the Highlands of Scotland, where they had neither bibles nor catechisms in their own language ".[6] It was news to Boyle that the Irish language was still used in a great part of the north of Scotland,[7] and he said that he would not have dispersed all his copies of the *New Testament* in Irish if he had been aware of this, because it was his purpose to distribute them gratis, where the most good was likely to result. However, he still had some copies of the *Old Testament* in Irish, since its distribution in Ireland had not succeeded so well as expected, because " divers of the reverend Protestant clergy in Ireland, besides some worthy prelates ", who intended its promotion, " by various occurrences were hindered from accomplishing their good desires ". Of these remaining copies he offered thirty-one

[1] *Works*, vi. 618. Letter from Huntington to Boyle, 20 March 1685/6.

[2] This must refer to the *Old Testament*.

[3] Mason, *The Life of William Bedell*, p. 299, footnote.

[4] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, (London, 1692), p. 26.

[5] (1650 ?—after 1709). M.A., Edinburgh. Rector of Astwick, Bedfordshire.

[6] *Works*, i, p. clxxxviii. Letter from Kirkwood to Dr. Wm. Wotton, 22 June 1702.

[7] At this time Irish was the literary language both of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. After the seventeenth century the literary history of the two countries developed differently.

(bound) for use by the ministers of the diocese of the Bishop of Ross,[1] together " with one with a gilt back, to be presented to the right reverend bishop of Ross . . . as an acknowledgment of my just sense of his pious forwardness to promote the good work I aimed at. I shall also send an hundred [2] more unbound." [3] Later, on making further enquiries, he was informed, " that a bookseller, having with my leave printed a somewhat greater number of New Testaments than I had contracted for, he has yet in his hands about fifty Old Testaments, and about one hundred and fifty New ones. He can afford each whole Bible for a mark, provided the whole fifty be taken off his hands ; and for the supernumerary hundred, or thereabouts, of New Testaments, he can part with them at three shillings a piece in quires." [4] Over a year later, in July 1689, it appeared that Everingham the printer had about thirty New Testaments in sheets, which James Kirkwood asked Boyle to bestow on the parishes.[5]

Boyle's generosity towards the Scottish Highlanders extended further to the printing at his own expense of 6000 catechisms and prayer-books in Irish. " The catechism and prayers were composed by Mr. Charteris,[6] and were translated into Irish by Sir Hugh Campbell, of Caddel, and afterwards revised and corrected by Mr. Kirk. There were added to the catechism some passages of scripture, containing the principal heads of the Christian religion, to serve as a short and plain tract of devotion and Christian morality." [7] The price quoted for printing 3000 catechisms was a little under five pounds.[8]

[1] James Ramsay (1624?-96).

[2] Kirkwood always talks of 200 copies ; making one for each parish.

[3] *Works*, i, p. cxcii, letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 5 November 1687 ; i, p. cxcv, letter from Kirkwood to Bishop of Ross, 15 December 1687 (printed version gives date as 14, but original is undoubtedly 15) ; i, p. cxciv, letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 15 December 1687 ; i, p. cxcvi, letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 27 December 1687 ; i, p. cxcvii, letter from Boyle to Kirkwood, 5 March 1687/8.

[4] Ibid., i, p. cxcvii. Letter from Boyle to Kirkwood, 5 March 1687/8.

[5] Ibid., i, p. cc. Letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 13 July 1689.

[6] Lawrence Charteris (1625-1700). M.A., Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh.

[7] *Works*, i, p. clxxxviii, letter from Kirkwood to Wotton, 22 June 1702 ; i, p. cxcix, letter from the Presbytery of Ross to Kirkwood, 15 October 1688 ; i, p. ccii, letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 30 October 1690.

[8] *Royal Society Boyle Papers*, iv, fol. 103. Everingham's quotation for printing Bibles, etc., *c.* 1689.

The dispatch and distribution of these various items took place extremely slowly, no doubt because of the troublesome times, as well as the difficulties of transport to remote places. It was not till 16 June 1688 that Kirkwood could give instructions to the carrier Carwhin : " Receive at last the Bibles & Catechisms w^{ch} are designed for the use of the parishes of the Highlands . . . Bailie Charteris will take care that no Customs be paid for them, they not being books to be sold, but only a Gift for the use of the Highlands from the excellent M^{r} Boyle." Even so, only at the beginning of July 1688 were the 207 Bibles (seven with gilt bindings for the Bishops) and 3,000 Catechisms packed for dispatch by the binder Andrew Oswald of Air Street, Piccadilly : they were sent, evidently by sea-route to Leith, and thence to Edinburgh, where they were delivered later in the same month. The freight and other charges amounted to £19 7s.

Robert Kirk [1] supplied Carwhin the carrier with the following draft inscription to be written on the verso of the title-page of the Bibles, and not on the end-paper. " The Donation of the honourable, pious & learned Ro. Boyl Esquire, son to the Earl of Cork &c. in Ireland, a principal member of the Royal Society, Bestowed on the Church of . . . to continue there as a Church Bible for the present Reverend Minister his use, & for the behoof of all the ministers who shall succeed him in that parish." [2]

By 15 May 1690 only sixty-six of these quarto Old Testaments had been delivered. This delay undoubtedly prompted Spalding's letter of 28 June 1690 to Boyle,[3] which brought forth Kirkwood's suggestion for the reply that Boyle should make to spur on the distribution.[4] As late as 1698 Kirkwood was still pressing for the distribution to be completed. He wrote : " The regaird that is due to the memory of that excellent person (Mr. Boyl) seems to require that somewhat be done to testify

[1] (1641 ?-92). Gaelic scholar ; M.A., Edinburgh ; minister of Aberfoyle, Monteith.

[2] George P. Johnson, " Notices of a Collection of MSS. relating to the Circulation of the Irish Bibles of 1685 and 1690 in the Highlands and the Association of the Rev. James Kirkwood therewith ", *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 1901-4 (Edinburgh, 1906), p. 1.

[3] *Works*, i, p. cc. Letter from Spalding to Boyle, 28 June 1690.

[4] Ibid., i, p. ccii. Letter from Kirkwood to Boyle, 30 October 1690.

that his generous charity is not altogether slighted by this Church and Kingdom." In spite of this it seems that no more than ninety-one copies had been distributed by August 1699.[1]

A strong plea was made by certain ministers in Scotland "to have a new impression of the bible in the Latin character, in a small volume, for the use of such persons in the Highland parishes, as had been taught to read English, though they did not understand it, and for the advantage of such children, as should be sent to school, especially those of the poorer sort, who could not purchase books for themselves. To answer the pious desires of such persons, endeavours were used in Scotland to procure another impression; but in this attempt we met not with success. The first encouragement that was given me [*sc.* James Kirkwood] to go with it in this kingdom, was by the worthy Mr. Boyle, who told me, he would subscribe for printing one hundred bibles. This example disposed others, whom I acquainted with the design, to subscribe very freely and largely." [2]

The transliteration into Latin character and the supervision of this version of the Irish *Old Testament* through the press were entrusted to Robert Kirk; the printing was carried out by Robert Everingham. Three thousand copies were quoted at 1s. 10d. each for paper and printing, and 8d. per copy for binding, making a total cost of £375, towards which Boyle contributed £8 6s. 8d.[3] to print 100 copies.[4]

Opposition was raised to the distribution in the highlands of Scotland of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and this called forth a lengthy refutation of the arguments put forward.[5]

[1] Johnston, op. cit.

[2] Ibid., i, p. clxxxviii. Letter from Kirkwood to Wotton, 22 June 1702.

[3] Evidently based on another (earlier ?) estimate of the printer. Amongst the Boyle Papers is a rough note which reads: "The printer Mr. Everingham at the 7 starrs in Ave Mary Lane offers to print 2,000 Bibles in Irish of the Latin letter for 20 pence a Bible or 3,000 Bibles for 18d a Bible unbound. The Letter is to be the same wth that wherein the French Bible is printed. He says he can do it in 5 months" (*Royal Society Boyle Papers*, iv). R. Bentley, R. Everingham and J. Hindmarch had published a French Bible, 12mo, London, 1686-7.

[4] *Works*, i, p. cxc, account of the design to print Bibles for the use of the Highlanders.

[5] Ibid., i, p. cxci; *An answer to the objection against printing the bible in Irish.* A facsimile of the original and probably only surviving copy of this broadside is given in *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society 1901-1904* (Edinburgh, 1906), p. 1.

Concerning this impression of the Bible [1] in Latin character, Kirkwood was able to write to Carwhin the carrier on 1 April 1690: "At last the Bibles are printed, Blessed Be God." Arrangements for distributing these Bibles were left in the hands of the General Assembly, Edinburgh, which passed on 11 November 1690 an "Act approving Overtures anent the Irish Bibles, &c." Yet Kirkwood's letter of 18 June 1692 to the carrier shows that they had not left London on that date. As late as 1698 the distribution had extended to no more than 1,770 Bibles, 420 Testaments and 540 Catechisms; and it was not till 1705-6 that the final parcel was sent.[2]

This work of piety directed to the dissemination of the Scriptures in the Scottish highlands took place over the years 1686 to 1690, and brought forth the customary letters of thanks from those who had this work at heart.[3]

After Boyle's death at the end of 1691, encouragement of the use of the Irish language as well as the circulation of the Scriptures in that language again entered a period of neglect: it was not till 1710 that another revival of interest in this work occurred.[4]

[1] *An Biobla Naomhtha*, London, 1690; *Tiomna Nuadh.* London, 1690. Both 12mo. At the end of the O.T., are 3 pages of explanations, forbidden degrees of marriage, etc. At the end of the N.T., are 5½ pages devoted to a Gaelic-English vocabulary.

[2] Johnston, op. cit., p. 1.

[3] *Works*, i, p. cxcix, letter from the Presbytery of Ross to Kirkwood, 15 October 1688; i, p. cc, letter from Spalding to Boyle, 28 June 1690; i, p. cciii, letter from the Bishop of Ross to Kirkwood [n.d.]; *Royal Society Boyle Letters*, vi, fol. 89, letter from Scottish ministers to Boyle [n.d.].

[4] Mason, *Reasons and Authorities* . . . (Edinburgh, 1830).

THE 39th REGIMENT OF FOOT AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1754-1757

By JOHN ROACH, M.A., Ph.D.,
FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE connection between the army and the general history of Britain has been very little studied. The military historians have limited themselves to specialized studies, while their co-workers in other fields seem often to be oblivious of the fact that Britain has had a standing army at all. The ethos of the British army has been profoundly influenced by the fact that, for the last two centuries, it has filled a double role, both as a continental force and as a body which has spent much of its time in outlying possessions of the Crown, much the most important of which, until the end of the Second World War, was India. So the story of the first royal regiment to serve in India (1754-7), the 39th Foot, has considerable interest. Moreover it is especially rewarding because it can be studied at two levels; it is well documented in the India Office papers, and the official records are complemented by the papers of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Bagshawe, which contain both his own letters and the letters of his brother officers.[1]

[1] This article is based on the papers of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe in the John Rylands Library and on the following papers in the India Office Library: Home Miscellaneous Series, Abstracts of Letters received from "Coast" and "Bay", Despatches to Madras (Original Drafts), Fort St. David Consultations, The Orme Papers, The Clive Papers. The Madras Public Proceedings and the Madras Select Committee Proceedings have largely been printed for the years 1754-7, the Public Proceedings as *Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book* (*Public Department*), vols. 82-7 (Madras, 1941-50), the Select Committee Proceedings as *Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book* (*Military Department*), *1754-1756* (Madras, 1912-13). I have used the printed volumes. The Select Committee Proceedings for 1757 have not been printed, and I have used the manuscript volume in the India Office Library. I have also used, in the printed series, *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, 1754, 1756* (Madras, 1942-3). For the papers of Samuel Bagshawe, see F. Taylor, *Hand-list of the Bagshawe Muniments deposited in the John Rylands Library* (1955). Many extracts from them are given in W. H. G. Bagshawe, *The Bagshawes of Ford* (privately printed, 1886). I wish to thank

The story of the 39th forms the first chapter in the long association which moulded the character of the British professional army and which is a major episode in the interaction between Indian and British life which has so deeply influenced the history of both countries. The historians often seem to write as if the traffic were all one way. Everyone who is interested in the subject at all knows a great deal about the British impact on India. Much less attention has been devoted to the equally important theme of the effect of the possession of India on British life and institutions. One of the threads was certainly the army, and the impact of the army on society in general. One of the greatest of British soldiers, Wellington, had his first experience of high command as the " sepoy general "; the succession goes down through Roberts to such outstanding leaders of the Second World War as Auchinleck and Slim. The history of the 39th in India was, apart from the detachment which was with Clive at Plassey, unhappy and unsuccessful. It was, however, played out against a background of great events on the Indian scene. The regiment arrived just after the supersession of Dupleix ; it went home soon after Plassey and just before the struggle between French and English was fought to a finish in the south. Two of the great English leaders of the time, Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, and Francis Forde, Clive's right-hand man in Bengal, came out with the 39th, and, when in name it went home, the greater part of the men and a few of the officers transferred to the Company's service, thus strongly reinforcing the small army of Europeans with which the great victories of the English were won.

The officers of the 39th found themselves in a very difficult position. Not only had they to accustom themselves to a new and dangerous environment ; as Francis Forde wrote to Bagshawe, he had been ill and would in Europe have ignored it ; " yet in such a place as this when a man is carried off at such short warning, one cannot help being alarmed at the smallest disorder ".[1] They had also to accustom themselves to the command of the

the Librarians and staffs of both the India Office Library and the John Rylands Library for their assistance.

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/136 (1 November 1754).

officials of the East India Company who were, in their own possessions, almost kings in their own right. To the royal troops these seemed jealous, secretive and authoritarian. To the Company's servants the soldiers seemed overbearing, inefficient, and clamant for privileges which had no real relevance to Indian conditions. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1755 contained a notice of a reward offered by the officers of the 39th for the discovery of the person who had libellously suggested that "the King's Troops are only auxiliaries to the East India Company, and under the unlimited Direction of their Governours and Council".[1] On the other hand the historian Robert Orme, who was a member of the Madras Council himself, wrote to the Secretary of State, "the discipline of regimented Troops, the modes of encampment in Flanders, the heavy baggage, the every manner of warlike operations in Europe are dissonant to the Practices required in Indostan".[2]

Not only did the establishment of British power in India involve serious problems of adjustment between rulers and ruled; the Europeans themselves were divided and jealous of one another, rallied under the rival banners of the Company and the Crown. One of the best known episodes of this rivalry is the series of disputes between Warren Hastings and the judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court; the story of the relations between Colonel Adlercron and the 39th Foot and the Madras Council is rather similar. The eighteenth century was a quarrelsome and litigious age, and the faults of the time were inevitably exaggerated in a small community of white men, living in close proximity to one another under unhealthy conditions with few of the restraints imposed by the ordinary conditions of European life. At the same time as the Madras Council were quarrelling with Colonel Adlercron, there was a long-drawn-out wrangle going on between them and the Mayor and Aldermen of Madras.[3]

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/103.

[2] Orme MSS. (Orme Various), 17.13 (3), pp. 340-2 (30 July 1757); for the arrangement of the Orme papers, see S. C. Hill, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii, pt. i, *The Orme Collection* (1916).

[3] *Diary and Consultation Book* (*Public Dept.*), lxxxvii (1757), introduction by B. S. Baliga, pp. iv-v.

Wrangling was in the air, but, when it affected officers of the army, some of them with influential connections, it cannot have done good to the standing of the Company at home. Adlercron's Lieutenant-Colonel, Samuel Bagshawe, was himself a man of good position who had initially made his way under the patronage of William, third Duke of Devonshire.[1] His personal relations with the Company's officials were friendly, even close; for instance Thomas Saunders, the Governor of Madras who had been the antagonist of Dupleix, wrote to him on arrival home; "I have always taken an opportunity to speak of your politeness & endeavour to promote harmony which I hope does and will flourish".[2] Yet Bagshawe clearly felt the gravest dissatisfaction with the Company and its system. So far as the relations of the British and French were concerned, he wrote, "however these transactions may be to the advantage of the English Nation they are such that if the common Rights of Mankind deserve Consideration, both the English and French deserve to be driven off the Coast (of Coromandel)".[3] After the regiment had returned from India, he wrote to Adlercron that little attention had been paid to their proceedings and that the Company had an interest which would support it "till a National Enquiry is made into their Management".[4] By about 1760 intelligent men were beginning to concern themselves with problems of Indian administration which grew more pressing as the Company changed from an association of merchants into a sovereign power. Bagshawe himself, on his return, drew up a scheme for supplying the Company with troops by enlisting men, who had been discharged by regiments quartered in Ireland, to go to India for five years—a scheme which is of no special importance in itself but which is indicative of this growing concern.[5] Further there was a humanitarian demand for justice for the peoples of India. In fact, the experiences of the 39th may have added a rivulet to the growing torrent of opinion which felt, as Charles Jenkinson put it, that the affairs of the Company were growing too big "for the

[1] James Hayes, "The Military Papers of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe (1713-62)", *B[ulletin] [of the] J[ohn] R[ylands] L[ibrary]*, xxxix (March 1957), 366.

[2] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/245 (10 October 1755).

[3] Ibid. 2/6/15 (16 February 1756).

[4] Ibid. 2/6/161 (21 November 1758).

[5] Ibid. 2/6/147.

management of a body of merchants ".[1] The path towards North's Regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act of 1784 lay open.

The regiment arrived in India in autumn 1754. The previous years had seen the meteoric rise of the French power under Dupleix, the capture of Madras from the English, the emergence of Robert Clive, the successful English operations round Trichinopoly under Stringer Lawrence, and the establishment of the English candidate as Nawab of the Carnatic. The 39th had been sent out at the request of the English Company, fearful of French successes, though the conclusion of the truce of 1754 made the regiment a less welcome auxiliary. Negotiations between the British and French Governments had been undertaken in Europe, and it had been agreed that they should be conducted by commissaries in India. The French, believing that Dupleix lacked the qualifications, decided to supersede him and sent out Godeheu as commissary with absolute authority over their Indian settlements.[2] Godeheu arrived at Pondicherry on 1 August 1754 and at once superseded Dupleix. A suspension of arms was made on 11 October, followed on 26 October by a truce for three months.[3] At the end of December a provisional treaty was made which was to endure until news of its confirmation or otherwise had been received from Europe, neither nation being allowed to obtain new cessions or forts during the truce.[4]

Whatever the true balance of advantage in these arrangements, the English fear and suspicion of their rivals were unquenched. Orme, who came out in 1754 as a member of the Madras Council, wrote that the terms of the truce were so precarious and unequal that they could be justified only if the continuance of the war was deemed incompatible with the existence of the Company.[5] Bagshawe wrote that the revenues of the French acquisitions were fourteen times as much as those of the English, apart from

[1] L. S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (1952), p. 137 and *passim*.

[2] R. Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (1763), i. 367-8.

[3] G. B. Malleson, *History of the French in India* (1868), pp. 411-12, 428; Richard Owen Cambridge, *Account of the War in India . . . on the Coast of Coromandel, From the year* 1750 *to the year* 1760 (1761), p. 71.

[4] Text in Cambridge, op. cit. pp. 73-6. [5] Orme, *Transactions*, i. 378.

districts which the French had obtained in Golconda.[1] The same note appears over and over again in the Madras records, particularly in regard to "Golconda", the territories of the Subahdar of the Deccan to the north. In October 1754 the Select Committee of the Madras Council considered that the French claims in the Deccan, where the French under Bussy had established a predominant position at the court of the Subahdar Salabat Jang, might make further negotiation impossible "unless these unbounded Pretensions are previously reduc'd within the limits of Equality".[2] In 1756, when tension was growing again, the Select Committee were negotiating with the French Governor, de Leyrit, who argued that the object of the truce had been to make peace in the Carnatic and who consequently claimed full freedom of action in the Deccan. This interpretation of the truce the English indignantly rejected, arguing that it must be binding in both provinces alike.[3] No peace could be enduring, they argued, if the French were allowed to continue their advance in the north.[4] Unless this background of fear and suspicion be remembered, many of the events which befell the 39th cannot be fully understood. It explains the plans of summer 1756, for intervention in the Deccan, which were made abortive by Siraj-ud-daula's attack on the Company in Bengal. It clarifies the attitude of the Madras Government towards the Bengal expedition which they naturally regarded as a mere sideshow in comparison with the danger of a French attack, both in the Carnatic and in the north, where the English settlement of Vizagapatam fell to Bussy in June 1757, a few days before Plassey was fought. Soon after that the 39th were recalled, but it was an officer of the regiment, Francis Forde, who re-established the British position in the Northern Sarkars, defeated the French at Condore and captured Masulipatam (1758-9).[5]

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/224 (To the Duke of Devonshire, 5 March 1755).

[2] *Diary and Consultation Book* (*Military Department*) (1754), p. 247.

[3] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 105; Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 77 (President and Select Committee of Madras to Secret Committee of East India Company, 1 March 1756); for the arrangement of this series of documents, see S. C. Hill, *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records* (1927).

[4] Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 70.

[5] L. Forde, *Lord Clive's Right Hand Man: A Memoir of Colonel Francis Forde* (1910).

The greatest and best known of those who play a part in the Indian adventures of the 39th is, of course, Robert Clive, who returned to the Coromandel Coast in June 1756 as Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, a subordinate British settlement near Pondicherry where the regiment had originally been stationed. Apart from him the most distinguished of the Company's officers was Stringer Lawrence, who, because Adlercron was senior to him, took no part in military affairs during most of the time the regiment was in India. Among his juniors were James Kilpatrick, who, after distinguished service, died in Bengal in 1757 and John Caillaud who did valuable work in the troubled southern regions of Trichinopoly and Madura and who later commanded the Company's troops in both Madras and Bengal. Governor Saunders of Madras returned to England in January 1755 and was succeeded by George Pigot who remained in office until 1763, and who, with Clive's predecessor as Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, Richard Starke, was the chief representative of the Company in the quarrels with the royal officers.

The Colonel of the 39th Foot, John Adlercron, was a man over sixty years of age who was probably of Swiss extraction, though the name sounds Swedish. He had become Colonel of the regiment in March 1752, became a Lieutenant-General in 1760 and died in 1766.[1] He was probably too old to face the completely new conditions of Indian service. James Wolfe described him as a "very poor insignificant officer",[2] and Governor Pigot, writing to Clive about his campaign against the French in 1757 said "this poor Man at the head of the Army makes sad work".[3] Though the Governor and the Colonel had little reason to love one another, it is a fair judgement enough on the evidence provided. Adlercron's letters are full of an obstinate, ineffective self-righteousness, of constant appeals to his duty towards "the King my Master", and of a strong sense of his position as commander-in-chief, all of which must have made him almost impossible to work with. Clearly his relations with his

[1] C. T. Atkinson, *The Dorsetshire Regiment* (1947), i. 296.
[2] Robert Wright, *Life of Major General James Wolfe* (1864), pp. 317, 318 n.
[3] Clive Papers, Box 22 (20 June 1757).

Lieutenant-Colonel, Samuel Bagshawe, and his other officers were bad. " I doe not find ", wrote Captain Walsh to Bagshawe in 1758, " that there was perfect harmony in the Corps ",[1] and the officers' letters suggest that the Colonel was the chief cause of this. He had, wrote Surgeon William Kellett to Bagshawe, who had come home in 1756, dismissed first Carnac and then Lewis, " who had behaved himself to the liking of the Regim[t] ", from being his secretary ; " Affairs have not ", Kellett went on (25 June 1757), " amended since your Departure ".[2] There is a suggestion in a letter of Major Forde's [3] that Adlercron was jealous of Bagshawe ; Bagshawe himself thought that the Colonel had on all occasions done his best to " thwart mortify and contradict " him, and had made him believe that " he aims at depriving me of my Commission and would be glad of my Death ".[4]

Bagshawe himself had become an ensign in the regiment in 1740 and Lieutenant-Colonel in 1749. He had already lost a leg in an expedition to the French coast in 1746 and was to lose an eye in India, being invalided home in autumn 1756 since it was feared that he might lose the other eye and even his life.[5] Despite his physical disabilities, he went on serving and raised a new regiment, the 93rd, though he died in 1762 at the age of forty-nine. The picture of him which emerges from his correspondence is a very favourable one. He was clearly an excellent and devoted regimental officer. Kellett wrote to him on one occasion in India, and apologized for bothering him with so long a letter at a busy time, but " that I know you interest yourself in the minutest Things which concern the Regiment ".[6] Long after he came home Captain Archibald Grant was corresponding with him about the remittance to Europe of the money left by the men of his company who had died on service in Bengal and its division among their heirs—a correspondence which suggests

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/2/752 (16 June 1758).
[2] Ibid. 2/6/150, 151.
[3] Ibid. 2/5/147 (10 November 1754).
[4] Ibid. 2/5/240 (undated and unaddressed).
[5] Ibid. 2/6/116 (18 October 1756) ; for details of Bagshawe's career see *B.J.R.L.* xxxix. 356-9.
[6] Ibid. 2/5/176 (6 December 1754).

Bagshawe's concern for the matter as well as Grant's.[1] His junior officers were clearly devoted to him; his kindness of heart is suggested by the many occasions on which they ask him to perform services for them, from Forde wanting a place for a nephew as a book-keeper among the merchants of Madras to Lieutenant Fortescue asking for two or three pounds of green tea as it was dear and bad at Cuddalore, and for a palanquin for Captain Wray.[2] Bagshawe's friendship, wrote John Corneille—the "my dear Cor" of the Lieutenant-Colonel's letters—"makes me look back with pleasure on my India expedition",[3] and Captain David Hepburne gave practical demonstration of his feelings by offering, on his return home, to lend Bagshawe £600 on whatever terms he liked.[4] Kellett was obviously a close friend; the son of a captain in the 27th Regiment, he became an ensign in 1757, and eventually commanded the regiment at the great siege of Gibraltar 1778-83.[5] The major of the 39th, Verney Lovett, was an officer of aristocratic connections; he does not play a very prominent part in the Bagshawe correspondence. Despite official differences, Bagshawe's relations with the servants of the Company, like Lawrence, Orme, Caillaud, and Kilpatrick, were as cordial as his relations with his brother officers; the Company's representatives were, he wrote home in February 1756, "a good Sort of People as can be who neither want Sense nor good Nature & Persons I should choose to be acquainted wth not only in this but any Part of the World".[6]

When the regiment received its orders for India, it was serving in Ireland. On 31 January 1754 the Adjutant-General sent instructions that it should be made up by drafts to "three Serjeants three Corporals two Drums and seventy private men per Company". One hundred men were to be paraded by each regiment providing the drafts from whom an officer of the 39th was to choose fifty.[7] Full administrative details followed from

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/163, 167, 199, 202, 203, 204.
[2] Ibid. 2/5/123, 129 (23, 26 October 1754).
[3] Ibid. 2/2/113 (27 September 1759).
[4] Ibid. 2/2/264 (19 August 1758).
[5] *B.J.R.L.* xxxix. 382-3.
[6] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/21 (To Capt. Levett, 20 February 1756).
[7] Ibid. 2/5/2.

Ladeveze, the regimental agent. Tents were to be provided for the officers, who were themselves to provide beds and bedding; recruiting parties and absent officers were to report back; new clothing was to be issued, "the Coats . . . to be lined with Linnen made shorter than usual, & to have only one fold in the skirts, that they may as light as possible". Further there was the question of an officer's exchange: an ensign on Irish half-pay who wished to go and had the Colonel's approval of the following terms, "to any subaltern whose situation is such that he would chuse to stay behind, viz. He will give his half pay, and one hundred & fifty pounds Irish money for a Lieutenancy Or his half pay and fifty pounds Irish money for an Ensigncy." As time presses a speedy answer must be given "that I may give in the Memorial whilst the Colonel is in London, for nothing of that kind will be done after he has left it." John Calcraft, the famous army agent, who took over the regimental agency at this time, had applied for a year and a quarter's subsistence in advance, which he would invest in silver to save the 40 per cent. discount which had to be paid if money were drawn from India.[1] In fact, the regiment lost heavily through fluctuations in the exchange rate; Bagshawe wrote in November 1754 that they had lost 18½ per cent. on the silver which they had brought with them for the regiment's pay.[2] In August of the following year Calcraft wrote that, because of the loss resulting from taking out the pay in silver, he would try and send the next remittance in "Portugal Gold and round Dollars".[3] Much trouble was also caused by the fact that Major Forde, who had been appointed paymaster, neglected to send home accounts; Calcraft had been unable to pay some of Bagshawe's bills, he explained, because he did not know what credit to give, being ignorant of what Forde had paid to him or to the other officers in India.[4]

For Bagshawe himself the expedition posed some special problems. First of all he was anxious for the rank of Colonel to put him above Major Sewell, who had been, he argued, put into the regiment, and who had a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of a prior date to his own. However, this difficulty was overcome

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/4.
[2] Ibid. 2/5/143.
[3] Ibid. 2/5/237.
[4] Ibid. 2/6/133 (10 December 1756).

by Sewell's retirement.[1] Secondly, he feared that his lameness might cause his transfer to another regiment, and protested vigorously

> if I am not so active as I have been it is not my fault, I leave it to others to say how I became so, I think I am well esteemed in the Regiment and I hope I shall not be found a Boaster if I say the removing me would be a greater Discouragement to the Men than perhaps the Service would receive benefit from putting into it a quicker Mover.[2]

He must have been cheered by news from Adlercron, who had been received by the Duke of Cumberland, who " told me that you wanted a Legg, that he knew you to be a good & careful Officer ".[3] At first he had hoped that his wife might be able to accompany them, but Calcraft informed him that women would not be able to go since the ships would be very full.[4]

Naturally the officers wished to obtain some information about the strange new country for which they were bound, and Bagshawe had some correspondence with Major John Mompesson, who had gone out in 1747 in command of the independent companies sent with Admiral Boscawen's expedition.[5] It was ominous of future trouble that one of the papers which Mompesson sent was a memorial from the captains and subalterns to Boscawen, asking that he " will not oblige us to Role in Duty with those of Merchants, nor to submit to the Command of India Governours or others, but such as have a Regular Established Military Authority over us ". There can have been little time for considering such problems in the bustle of preparing for embarkation, which began on 23 March, though it was delayed by damage to the fleet by a storm.[6] A return of the new drafts, made shortly before, showed that they consisted of 483 men.[7] According to the adjutant's return of the distribution of the officers and men on the ships, the regiment's complement consisted of 38 officers (including the chaplain, the surgeon and four surgeons' mates), 30 serjeants, 30 corporals, 20 drummers, and 700 privates. Between the date of augmentation and 2 March 2 men had died, 22 had deserted, and 32 had been discharged.[8] The ships—nine men of war and

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/6, 7, 21.
[2] Ibid. 2/5/9 (undated and unaddressed).
[3] Ibid. 2/5/23 (19 February 1754).
[4] Ibid. 2/5/13-14 (9 February 1754).
[5] Ibid. 2/5/15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 29.
[6] Ibid. 2/5/41, 49.
[7] Ibid. 2/5/26.
[8] Ibid. 2/5/48, 49.

Indiamen—arrived on the Coromandel Coast between 1 September and 21 December, Bagshawe arriving on the first to land, the *Britannia*, Indiaman. The detachment of Royal Artillery under Captain William Hislop, sent with the regiment, arrived between the 1st and 22nd September.[1]

The arrival of the royal troops coincided, as we have seen, with the truce between the English and the French Companies. Consequently there was no immediate military objective to be achieved which might have enforced co-operation on the Madras Council and Colonel Adlercron alike; any differences which arose between them were likely to rage unchecked. The historian of the Madras Army made the point that the Company was always jealous of its military servants and inclined to keep down their numbers and reduce their authority, a sentiment which the soldiers repaid by being less respectful towards their masters than they would otherwise have been.[2] The dispatches from home make it clear that relations between Saunders and Lawrence had been bad, and the Madras authorities were urged to show a proper regard for Lawrence's opinion in military operations and appointments.[3] It is not surprising then that Adlercron and his officers faced a suspicious administration. The need for reinforcements, the Madras Select Committee submitted to their masters in London, was certainly urgent, but it might be better, instead of sending royal troops, to send men in the Company's service in transports or in their own ships.[4] They wanted men and materials, but, after they had had some experience of Adlercron, they were quite clear that they did not want senior officers. "No officer", wrote Orme, "of a higher rank than a captain should be sent abroad".[5] The powers and prerogatives claimed by Adlercron, Pigot wrote to the Secret Committee in London, were incompatible with the authority of the Company. The inconvenience might be lessened if the field officers were recalled, and the companies made independent, and it would be better still if the men could be incorporated with

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/54, 55.
[2] Lt.-Col. W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army* (Madras, 1882), i. 4-5.
[3] Dispatches to Madras, 1 (1753-9), pp. 307-8 (29 November 1754).
[4] Home Misc. 93 (20), p. 279 (10 November 1754).
[5] Orme MSS. 17. 13 (3), pp. 340-2.

the Company's own forces.[1] Unless this were done, the Select Committee thought, " no essential Services can be expected from these Troops ".[2]

The Company's servants were jealous of their authority and sensitive of the airs of superiority which the royal troops seemed to assume. The royal officers felt that they were at the mercy of mere merchants who knew nothing of the military art, but yet were anxious to keep everything in their own hands. Adlercron explained the situation, as he saw it, in a letter home of February 1757 : " these Gentlemen have been so long and so much accustomed to arbitrary and despotic sway, that they cannot possibly endure any Person, who is not immediately subservient to their Pleasures".[3] Civilian jealousy of the military must have made the situation difficult anyway ; it was made even more treacherous by a serious discrepancy between the Crown and the Company view of Adlercron's powers. His instructions, as communicated to the Madras Select Committee on his arrival, referred to him as " commanding in chief the land forces to be employ'd in the East Indies ", and ordered him on his arrival in India to take upon himself " the Command of all the Forces, belonging to the Company on the Coast of Coromandel ". In correspondence with the officers of other European princes, he was to use the title of " Colonel in our Service, & of Commander in Chief of the Troops of the English East India Company ".[4] This clearly gave Adlercron an overriding command, and he claimed accordingly to enjoy " sole authority over the Company's Troops without exception of Places ".[5] The instructions sent by the Company were far less extensive since they referred to the Colonel simply as Commander in Chief of His Majesty's land forces without any mention of authority over the Company's troops and garrisons.[6] As a later home dispatch explained, it was not usual to communicate government instructions, and so it had been impossible to send anything more explicit.[7]

[1] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 78-80.
[2] Abstracts of Letters from "Coast" and "Bay", 6 (1754-60), p. 171 (6 June 1757).
[3] Home Misc. 94, pp. 416-17. [4] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1754*, pp. 218-19.
[5] Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 50 (8 August 1755).
[6] Dispatches to Madras, 1, pp. 156, 256 (2, 15 March 1754).
[7] Ibid. 581 (19 December 1755).

Meanwhile the Madras authorities had to choose between "an opposition to his Majesty's Instructions on the one, and possibly a failure in our Duty to you on the other part".[1] Not unnaturally they chose to obey their own superiors. The Court of Directors had not said that the Company's forces were to be put under Adlercron's command, and they could not have intended such a step to be taken unless they had directly authorized it because it would leave with the "President and Council only a shadow of Government". On the other hand they persuaded themselves that His Majesty's instructions could not really mean what they appeared to mean. Firstly he had expressed his intention of maintaining the Company's rights and privileges, one of which unquestionably was to raise a military force and to appoint officers for it. Secondly the articles of war, made under the Act of Parliament recently passed for the punishment of mutiny and desertion in India, had ordered that royal officers should rank senior to all Company's officers of their own rank; "this & this only", the Select Committee argued, "is the superiour Command his Majesty has been pleas'd under the Sanction of Parliament to invest his officers with over those of the Company".[2] The latter argument may seem highly sophistical, but it was probably good enough for men who had already determined what they were going to do. For the moment the Select Committee decided to conceal its views and to invite Adlercron to Madras to negotiate. In sending information to Lawrence of their determinations, however, they wrote frankly that a compliance with "Col[l] Aldercron's [*sic*] Pretensions" . . . "would not be very pleasing to Us".[3]

Quarters and allowances formed the first subject of complaint by the royal forces. Bagshawe, who arrived before Adlercron, wrote to Deputy Governor Starke, complaining of the insufficiency of the quarters and of the fact that the provisions issued were less than those given to the Company's troops. He also asked for fuel, candles, and household furniture for the officers, for horses for the adjutant and the major, and for himself, since he lacked a

[1] Home Misc. 93 (20), p. 276 (from President and Select Committee of Madras, 10 November 1754).

[2] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1754*, pp. 221-2.

[3] Ibid. p. 224.

leg, a horse, a palanquin and peons. The parallel which the royal officers drew was Boscawen's expedition. Adlercron's commission, Starke was reminded, " is as full as Admiral Boscawen's and as absolute over all the Forces of the East India Cy on the Coast of Coromondel. He has the power of Life and Death the Disposal of Comissions at Pleasure, & is to be consulted & is entitled to sit with the Councils of the East India Cy apointed on this occasion on all the Plans of Operations wch shall be formed for the Service of the Comp^{y}." [1] Adlercron on his arrival repeated the same complaints and demanded a return of the Company's troops at Fort St. David.[2] Once again the Madras Council felt that, in the light of their instructions, the demands of the royal forces were excessive, but they ordered that the colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major be provided with palanquins and horses when in the field but not in garrison, that the troops be victualled for fourteen days after their arrival and that arrangements be made for a plentiful and cheap bazaar to be held at Cuddalore, near Fort St. David, that everything possible should be done to make the quarters of both officers and men convenient, and that such furniture as could be provided for the senior officers should be obtained.[3]

These disputes were annoying but not insoluble ; far greater difficulties were provided by the problem of rival authorities. The Madras Council reminded the Council at Fort St. David that, though they were to do all they could to promote good relations, they were always to remember that " the settlement of Fort St. David & its Districts belong to the Company & are committed to Your Charge, the King's Troops are therefore not to have any Command, but are to be consider'd merely as Troops in Quarters ".[4] The inconsistency with Bagshawe's views quoted above is obvious. On 30 September the Fort St. David Council informed the Presidency that Adlercron had demanded the command of the Company's troops, the right to give the password at the fort, and the returns of the garrison. At the time

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/57 (undated).

[2] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1754*, pp. 217-18.

[3] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) lxxxiii (June-December 1754), 147-8 (13 September) ; Fort St. David Consultations, 8 (1752-6) : 1754, pp. 129-30 (18 September).

[4] Fort St. David Consultations, 8 : 1754, p. 133 (21 September).

the Madras Council decided to temporize.[1] In mid-October Adlercron, not choosing to leave his troops himself, sent Bagshawe to Madras to negotiate with the Council over the three points at issue: whether they acknowledged his authority over both the king's and the Company's forces, whether they would give him the title of colonel in the royal service and commander in chief of the Company's troops, and whether they would consult him in their deliberations according to the king's instructions.[2]

The negotiations got off to a bad start because they coincided with the arrest and trial by Adlercron of a sepoy of the Cuddalore garrison against the wishes of Deputy Governor Starke.[3] Again there was a conflict of view. Adlercron claimed that his instructions gave him sole authority to order courts martial for all offenders whether in the service of the Crown or the Company. The orders sent out by the Court of Directors were not explicit and they did state that they had "power to authorize their President & Council to appoint Courts Martial within the jurisdiction of the Settlement".[4] A further grievance on Adlercron's side was that the suspension of arms with the French had been made without his being informed.[5] The note of being kept in ignorance of the real course of events runs right through Adlercron's and Bagshawe's correspondence, and was a constant and understandable source of irritation.[6] Despite all these difficulties, Bagshawe's first impression was favourable and he found Governor Saunders inclined to concessions; however, the Governor soon informed him that some members of the Council were less conciliatory, and Bagshawe felt uncertain what the Governor's real intentions were.[7] Later in the month

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, 8: p. 141 (30 September 1754); *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *June-December 1754*, pp. 168-9 (26 September), 170-1 (30 September).

[2] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1754*, p. 244.

[3] Ibid. pp. 241-2.

[4] Dispatches to Madras, 1, p. 260 (15 March 1754).

[5] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1754*, p. 243.

[6] Adlercron wrote to Henry Fox (21 November 1756) about events in the Deccan: "I cannot however depend upon the accounts I receive, as I have them only from hearsay; the Company's Managers never favouring me with the least intelligence, but on the contrary are industrious to keep me in a total ignorance of everything that passes" (Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 208).

[7] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/99, 105 (12, 13 October 1754).

Bagshawe wrote that a favourable regulation about allowances was being prepared, to which Adlercron replied that he still could not alter his opinion until his title and power over the Company's troops were accepted.[1] On 31 October Bagshawe and the Council made an agreement. The Commander in Chief agreed not to claim authority over the settlements or their garrisons and to allow regimental courts martial to be held without application being made to him on every occasion. The Governor agreed to recognize Adlercron's title and to send him returns of the settlement garrisons.[2]

At first all seemed to go well, and Adlercron wrote a few days later to Bagshawe to say that he was ready to accept the concession made.[3] He must soon have drawn back, however, perhaps from fear of committing himself against his orders, for Bagshawe was soon arguing that any other arrangement would weaken the hands of the Governor and Company over the natives, would hinder their affairs, and would contravene the orders given them by their superiors which they had to obey. " If each of you ", Bagshawe pleaded, " are determined to abide by the Letters of your Powers what can follow but Confusion & endless Opposition, instead of Harmony Discord, Jarring for a good Understanding and Enmity for Friendship ". In another letter Bagshawe said that, if the convention were not signed, " Colonel Lawrence has sworn to me he will immediately leave the Country and Service ".[4] Yet on 16 December Adlercron, who had come to Madras, informed the President and Council that he could not sign the convention because it was contrary to his instructions, and he gave an equivocal promise that he would not interfere with the command of the garrisons otherwise than he had already done at Fort St. George and Fort St. David.[5] The negotiations had not been entirely in vain; the Madras Council sent orders that the pay and allowances of H.M. troops should be made equal to those of their own at a monthly cost of 1,400 pagodas, and that the troops should be removed from Cuddalore, near Fort St. David, to the

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/120, 121, 130 (26, 29 October 1754).
[2] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1754*, pp. 253-4.
[3] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/137 (5 November 1754).
[4] Ibid. 2/5/160, 163, 164.
[5] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1754*, p. 274; Home Misc. 93 (20), p. 259.

Garden House and the surrounding barracks.[1] It is clear that Bagshawe's insistence had forced them into these measures rather against their will.[2] But on the more material questions of rival authorities his appeals for conciliation had ultimately met with no response from his commander. It is too much to believe that, if the convention had been signed, everything would have worked out entirely happily, but at least there might have been some foundation for co-operation. As it was the fundamental question of the command in the Company's forts and garrisons remained unsettled.[3]

Trouble rumbled on throughout 1755, though the Select Committee tried to avoid a crisis.[4] In July 1755 Adlercron put the commandants at Fort St. David and Cuddalore under arrest for not immediately publishing in their garrisons an order which he had issued before it had been shown to the Deputy Governor. On 4 August a Council of War, consisting of the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel Bagshawe, and Major Lovett repeated Adlercron's claim to supreme authority, stated that this had been neglected and the royal troops treated with indignity, and in consequence that the commander in chief's assurances, given in his letter of December 1754, should be revoked. Adlercron's letter of 8 August to the Select Committee cannot have improved matters. He began with the assumption, expressed in terms as galling as possible, that the Company's officials were without knowledge of military matters, and that they were behaving in a fashion which would display to people in England their ignorance of them. He continued :

> Write to me plainly that you do not intend to employ his Majesty's Forces because you prefer the private Interest of your own Troops and Servants, to Justice or any other Consideration ; and that you cannot bear to see any other Authority exercised here but your own ; publickly avow what I have too much reason to believe are your private Sentiments, that the King of Great Britain has no Authority in or over your Settlements, I shall then quietly continue as inactive as

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, 8 : 1754, p. 184 (31 December) ; *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1754*, p. 281.

[2] Home Misc. 93 (20), pp. 277-8.

[3] " Harmony entirely depends on the Clear Settlement of this Point " (Abstracts of Letters from " Coast " and " Bay " 6, p. 40 (12 January 1755).

[4] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1755*, pp. 106-7, 111, 114-15, 123, 136, 196 ; Fort St. David Consultations 8 : 1755, p. 90.

you have hitherto industriously kept me, till I have received the King my Master's Orders how to act, or if you disavow this, give me proof of your sincerity by not opposing me in the exertion of my power in its full extent.

To admit the colonel's claims, the Committee observed, " would reduce the Priviledges of the East India Company into a very small Compass indeed, during Colonel Adlercron's Stay in India ".[1]

After a few months without trouble Adlercron issued (3 January 1756) an order that the garrison at Cuddalore and the out-guards at Fort St. David should receive their orders from him alone. On this occasion the blow struck the Company in a very tender spot—the military subordination of the officers in their own service. The same day ten Swiss of Captain Schaub's company deserted from Cuddalore and the Deputy Governor was not informed until the following day so that the men were able to escape. Further, Schaub himself left Fort St. David and went to Pondicherry, which lies only about fifteen miles away, without either the permission or the knowledge of the Deputy Governor. As a consequence of this the Select Committee decided to ask for a court martial on Captain Schaub.[2] When the court met in 18 March, Starke charged him with disrespect and neglect of duty for going to Pondicherry without leave and for neglect of duty in not reporting the desertion of the ten men under his command. He was acquitted on the second charge ; on the first he was acquitted of neglect of duty but found guilty of disrespect. However it was considered that the submission he had made and the confinement he had suffered were sufficient punishment.[3] Schaub's intention, both before his trial and during the proceedings, was clearly to appeal to Adlercron's orders as his justification. He had aimed, as the Select Committee observed in their consultation of 9 April, " to prove his very great respect to Colonel Adlercron and his very little Respect for the Deputy Governor. . . . The Evil therefore which we apprehended from the Publication of that Order (Adlercron's order of

[1] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 42-58 (President and Select Committee of Madras to Secret Committee of East India Company, with enclosures, 27 October 1755).

[2] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 16-18, 21, 32-3, 36-7, 47-8.

[3] The proceedings are in ibid. pp. 135-8.

3 January) has already gain'd fast Root to the entire Ruin of all Military Subordination in the Company's Service.[1]

Although Adlercron refused to rescind the objectionable order,[2] the situation was changed when, in May, he received instructions from the Secretary of War, Henry Fox, informing him that the Company were sovereigns in their own forts which were therefore not under his command, but under the authority of the Company's governors, while the allowances made to the regiment were a matter of bounty not of right.[3] These instructions, Lieutenant Carnac wrote to Bagshawe, had given " much satisfaction to the people here, and the face at least of content and good humour appears now upon all occasions between the Commander in Chief and the presidency ".[4] But the damage had been done and any basis of mutual confidence destroyed. By 1756 war with the French was near. These disputes, Pigot wrote to the Secret Committee in London (March 1756), had hitherto not greatly mattered because there had been no absolute need for the royal troops to take the field. Yet, if they had to do so, their sense of their own superiority would make them demand concessions which would be incompatible with the Company's interest. It is hardly surprising that the Governor deemed Adlercron's declaration that he was responsible to no one but the king " a Lesson to us to employ your Troops and officers in preference ".[5] The results of that feeling are writ large in the Madras Council's later policy, and in the frustration of the regiment's ambitions to be sent on service.

The conclusion of the truce had left the English with the problem of firmly establishing the authority of the Nawab of the Carnatic. They wished to bring him from Trichinopoly to Arcot, the old capital of the province, and to assert his power over, and to claim his revenues from, the " Polligars " or chieftains in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts, the wide tract of country south of the river Cauvery on which the great fortress of

[1] The proceedings are in *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 133; see also Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 73-4.

[2] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 148.

[3] Public Record Office, W.O. 4/50, p. 457 (13 October 1755); Dispatches to Madras 1, pp. 581-2; *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 167.

[4] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/43 (22 May 1756).

[5] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 78-9.

Trichinopoly stands. Once the Nawab's revenues had been collected, he would be able to discharge his considerable debt to the English, who were acutely worried about the expenses of the recent operations of war.[1] Bagshawe certainly looked on these southern districts as a field for service. In December 1754 he wrote to the Commander in Chief asking to be sent to Trichinopoly as the station of next importance to his own.[2] Clearly Adlercron was not sympathetic, for in May Bagshawe noted that this command, or the expedition to the south under Lieutenant-Colonel Heron, soon to be mentioned, was his proper post, but " the Commander in Chief of the King's Troops thinks otherwise ".[3] Nor were the Company any more favourable, for they had employed officers junior to him on lucrative employments, and they feared that the king's officers would gain knowledge of their transactions.[4] In November 1755 he wrote to the Select Committee protesting against troops being sent on service under a junior officer, and claiming " untill I am convicted of want of Courage, Capacity and Conduct " to be sent in command of any body of troops appropriate to his rank over which the Commander in Chief did not take command himself. The Committee in reply told him that they considered his proper post to be with the regiment.[5] They believed that their omission to put Adlercron at the head of the small expeditions undertaken since the truce was the real source of their troubles with him.[6] The task of collecting money from the polligars and tax-farmers was not, they thought, sufficiently honourable for the king's forces, and, in a situation where financial issues were of primary importance, it was a serious drawback that they were not responsible to the Company for their conduct. Moreover to move them to Trichinopoly would have been a great additional expense. " We cannot help remarking ", the Select Committee explained

[1] Cf. the dispatch from England, 25 March 1757 : " The Company's Capital lyes Bleeding almost to Death upon the Coast of Choromandel " (Dispatches to Madras 1, p. 716).

[2] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/184.

[3] Ibid. 2/5/224.

[4] Ibid. 2/5/240 (undated and unaddressed) ; see also 2/6/7 (to Henry Fox, 13 January 1756).

[5] Ibid. 2/5/261, 264 ; *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1755*, pp. 215-16, 224.

[6] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 71-2.

to the Secret Committee in London, " that until the rumour of Colonel Heron's having made a large Fortune came to St. David, these Gentlemen were particularly well pleased with their Situation and thankful to the Company for their Handsome Allowances". [1]

The expedition sent to the south in 1755 under Lieutenant Colonel Heron had been a failure, and, when he returned, he was court-martialled at Madras. He was accused of making large private profits out of the money collected from the polligars and of farming out the revenues in consideration of large presents to himself, instead of giving a full account of the money collected and applying it to the benefit of the Nawab and the Company. He was further charged with disobeying orders to return to Trichinopoly, and of conduct unbecoming an officer in permitting images to be removed from a temple and in allowing his force to be surprised on its return march.[2] He was found guilty, and, Governor Pigot having warned him that civil proceedings might be taken against him, he fled from Madras to put himself under Dutch or French protection. " The Event " wrote Bagshawe, who had been president of the court, to Adlercron, " engages every Body [*sic*] attention in this Town". [3] The behaviour of " the late unworthy Col[l] Heron ", as a home dispatch called him,[4] must have increased even further the Presidency's suspicion and fear of military men. He was himself a royal officer, who had joined their service in Madras only in September 1754, a man of comparable rank and background to Adlercron and Bagshawe. Though no proof can be offered for the suggestion, it is a reasonable conjecture that his misconduct strengthened even more their determination not to employ the 39th on service, if that could possibly be avoided. Given the same opportunities, Pigot and his colleagues may have thought, Adlercron and his officers could have done the same ; there was the double danger of peculation and of disobedience.

[1] Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 44.

[2] For an account of the expedition see Orme, *Transactions*, i. 381-97 ; Cambridge, *War in India*, pp. 83-6 ; Bagshawe's summary of evidence at the court martial in Bagshawe MSS., 2/5/256-8 ; see also *Diary* (*Public Dept.*), lxxxiv (1755), 262-3.

[3] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/270 (5 December 1755).

[4] Dispatches to Madras 1, p. 654 ; see also pp. 650, 721.

While these events had been taking place, the danger of a French war had been steadily growing. In February 1756 the Select Committee decided that, though hostilities were not likely to break out immediately, everything was to be kept in readiness for war.[1] In May a ship, which had left England in November 1755, brought news that fighting had begun in America and that a number of French ships had been taken.[2] The same month a naval squadron under Admiral Watson arrived off the Coast, bringing Clive, who was to succeed to the Deputy Governorship of Fort St. David; they were followed, probably in July, by reinforcements for the 39th Foot under the command of Captain Eyre Coote.[3] In July too, after the Committee had heard news of the expected arrival of a French fleet at Pondicherry, they decided to bring the regiment and the train of artillery from Fort St. David to Madras, a distance by land of about seventy miles.[4] They had been forced, in order that the regiment might be ready to take the field, to comply with large demands on Adlercron's part for supplies and allowances.[5] The foot and the artillery, under Bagshawe's command, sailed to Madras in the middle of July.[6] In the previous month Admiral Watson had asked for a detachment of royal troops to make up his ships to their full complement, and a detachment of 280 officers and men, under the command of Major Lovett, had embarked on 13 June.[7]

So the forces were gathering for war. The most promising means of attacking the French seemed at first to be in the Deccan. At the end of May the Select Committee had heard reports of a quarrel between de Bussy and Salabat Jang, which might afford an opportunity to intervene.[8] By July there was a definite scheme to send a detachment to aid Salabat Jang against the French, " a Step ", the Committee thought, " most highly necessary for the Security of the Trade of the English on this Coast ".[9] On 27

[1] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, p. 101 (26 February).
[2] *Letters from Fort St. George* (1756), pp. 32-6.
[3] Orme, *Transactions*, i. 410; Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/95; Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 70.
[4] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, pp. 219-20.
[5] Ibid. pp. 70-3, 96-7, 121, 129.
[6] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/86, 98 (12, 20 July 1756).
[7] Ibid. 2/6/47, 48, 50, 51; Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 204-5.
[8] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, p. 185.
[9] Ibid. p. 222.

July the Committee decided to send 400 men, and asked Adlercron's advice about their plans. He expressed his own readiness to go on the expedition or to send any of his officers, and gave his own opinion that the 400 men could be spared from the Coast, though he said that the plans must be debated by a council of war. When this assembled it decided that the train of artillery, in addition to the 400 men originally suggested, should be sent, though both Lawrence and Bagshawe did not wish the total force to exceed 400. On 2 August the Select Committee decided to accept the council's recommendations, and to make all necessary preparations.[1] They were thwarted by events in Bengal.

The Madras Council had heard in mid-July of the dispute between the presidency of Fort William and the Nawab, Siraj-ud-daula, and they agreed to send a force of 250 men under Major Kilpatrick, who sailed on 20 July.[2] On 6 August the Governor of Madras informed the Select Committee that the Council had resolved to send further reinforcements to Bengal and to suspend the expedition to Salabat Jang's camp.[3] News of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras on 16 August.[4] Thereafter the course of events can be followed almost day by day. On the 17th the Council decided to consult Admiral Watson and to suspend the embarkation of any more troops.[5] Watson was doubtful about the wisdom of taking his ships up the Hughly, but the Council decided to ask him for his whole squadron and to send all the land forces which could be spared, under the command either of Pigot or of Clive.[6] On the 19th Adlercron was informed of the situation, and it was agreed that 200 Company's troops, forty of the artillery train, and the 264 troops of the 39th already serving on the squadron should be sent.[7]

[1] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 241-2, 246-8; Adlercron's account of these events is in Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 207-8; see also Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/101.

[2] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*), lxxxv (1756), 193-5 (14 July); Orme, *Transactions*, ii. 84.

[3] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 250; Orme, op. cit. ii. 86-7 gives the reasons expressed for and against expeditions to Bengal and to the Deccan respectively.

[4] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, p. 255; Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 209.

[5] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, p. 237.

[6] Ibid. p. 238; Fort St. David Consultations, 8 (22 August 1756).

[7] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 239-40.

At first there was no suggestion of Adlercron, though he was the senior officer on the coast, going in the command. He complained both then and later of being given no information, and asked that he and his troops should be sent on service, though it was perhaps rather unwise to remind the Council of the ill-usage and grievances which he and his men had suffered ![1] On the 20th and succeeding days the Council was debating whether it was wise to denude the Coast both of the squadron and of the troops, with the strong likelihood that there would be a French war.[2] Finally on the 29th a decision was reached. Admiral Watson was asked to suspend the orders already given for sending a small force. It was agreed to recognize the Governor and Council of Fort William as still in authority in Bengal, and consequently that it would not be appropriate to send Pigot or Clive, who were both senior officials of another presidency, to command. It was further decided that, if the expected England ships brought no news of war, Watson should be asked to sail to Bengal with his whole squadron and Adlercron to go with the regiment and the whole train of artillery. This would meet the demand of the Bengal Council for a really large force, which the Madras Council dared not send until they were more certain about the question of peace and war. The reasons for sending the royal troops are sufficiently important to be given in full.

1. Almost every thing in this Expedition depends on a large and well served Field Train of Artillery.
2. There are not a Sufficient Number of good and proper Field Pieces in the Company's Stores.
3. Colonel Adlercron in his Letter to the Board of the 20th Instant intimates that his Majesty is unwilling his Forces should be separated.
4. The Board are therefore under the necessity of taking the Resolution they have or of wanting the main Assistance. A good Field Train.[3]

Adlercron wrote later that the Council had never intended to employ the royal troops, and that their offer was merely a device for getting the artillery embarked after which he might be prevailed upon to let them keep it.[4] There is no evidence that this was really the Council's plan ; that their offer to Adlercron

[1] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 248-50, 255; Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 209-10.
[2] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 244-8, 258.
[3] Ibid. pp. 268-70 ; Home Misc. 804 (25), pp. 410-4.
[4] Home Misc. 94 (4), p. 211 (To Henry Fox, 21 November 1756).

was sincere is suggested by a letter to Clive from Alexander Wynch at Fort St. David (3 September) in which Wynch suggests that Clive is fortunate in being prevented from undertaking the expedition.[1] The Council soon followed up their offer to Adlercron with a letter of detailed instructions (3 September),[2] which may have strengthened the feeling of distrust in Adlercron's mind. After outlining the course of action which was to be followed towards the Nawab, they laid down that Adlercron should be ready to return to the Coast at their request, and that all the property of Calcutta should be delivered up for the benefit of the Company, together with one half of all other captures made, in order to make good the Company's losses. Once again the plans had to be submitted to a council of war. When this met on 20 September, it decided in favour of Adlercron and his force going to Bengal, but found the Council's conditions unacceptable. The requirement that he should be ready to return to the Coast ignored the independence of the Bengal authorities and the two presidencies must " determine that point between themselves "; about the property in Calcutta and other captures no answer could be given except in conjunction with the fleet.[3]

The Council received news of this decision on the 21st. They decided to press on with the expedition, but to keep the troops under their own power and consequently to send Clive in the command.[4] As they explained to Adlercron, the primary points in their minds were the necessity of being able to get the troops back and of making good the Company's losses. " To You ", they wrote, " we can only make Requests, our own Officer we know we can certainly command ".[5] They still asked, however, that the artillery and part of the king's force under an officer junior to Clive should be sent. But Adlercron absolutely refused to part with the artillery or even to give up the stores which had already been embarked, and which the Governor

[1] Clive Papers, Box 21.

[2] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 274-5; Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 252-4; Orme MSS. 28.3, pp. 101-2.

[3] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 228-30.

[4] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 293-7.

[5] Ibid. pp. 297-8; Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 231-3.

finally in desperation removed from the ships.[1] Watson also tried to get Adlercron not to withdraw the artillery, arguing that the expedition was a national concern. The Admiral held onto the detachment of the regiment serving on board the squadron, though Adlercron first tried to get them back, and then asked to come and command them himself rather than permit them to be commanded by a Company's officer.[2]

The Select Committee argued, in defence of their actions, that Adlercron was remaining in command at the most important station which would naturally be the main object of a French attack, and also that it was essential to send a commander who could act for the Company in both a civil and a military capacity.[3] A more honest opinion was that of Alexander Wynch in a private letter (23 September) that there was a much greater chance of success under Clive's command than if the regiment had gone, and that the arrangements made were those most likely to promote the Company's interests.[4] The official arguments of the Committee, quoted above, were really unconvincing, once they had invited Adlercron to go at all. As he himself argued, he would be left at Madras with only about 400 men, whatever the talk about the importance of the place, while it was impossible for a Company's officer, any more than for him, to have full civil and military authority since they had already recognized the continuing autonomy of the presidency of Bengal.[5] Neither side comes very well out of the story; if Adlercron was obstructive, the Company was disingenuous, though it is impossible not to sympathize with their appeal for help at a time when their affairs " were never so much immersed in Scenes of difficulty and Misfortune ".[6] The expedition, which was to achieve such brilliant success, sailed on 10 October.[7]

The detachment of the 39th which sailed with Clive and Watson consisted of three captains, nine subalterns, and 276 men.[8] Of the

[1] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 234-42; *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, pp. 281, 283-4, 291-2.

[2] For their correspondence of 26-27 September, see Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 243-6.

[3] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, pp. 282-3.

[4] Clive Papers, Box 21.

[5] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 211-12.

[6] *Diary (Mil. Dept.) 1756*, p. 283.

[7] Orme, *Transactions*, ii. 119.

[8] Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 71.

three captains, Coote was to rise to far higher fame. Grant became a "fifteen thousand pounder" from prize money.[1] Weller had a kneecap taken off by a cannon ball, and was "spoiled for a foot-soldier".[2] The rest of the regiment stayed in Madras for another year, though the latter part of their history can be rapidly related. The declaration of war made in May 1756 was announced to the Select Committee on 13 November; it was unfortunate, yet characteristic, that there should have been a squabble with Colonel Adlercron whether there should be an official proclamation of war or not.[3] At the end of January 1757 orders to return home were sent to Adlercron from England, though commissioned officers below the rank of field officer, non-commissioned officers and privates were to be permitted, and encouraged, to engage in the service of the Company.[4] The Company at home in sending the news to Madras, explained that, after Adlercron's dealings with the presidency had been reported to the Government, "it plainly appeared to his Majesty's Ministry that the Regiment in the Present Situation could be of little if any Service to the Company".[5] In fact, what might be called the Company view—that what was needed were private soldiers and junior officers alone—had triumphed. The news reached Madras in August; "so many Inconveniencies", the Select Committee observed, "have been experienc'd from Colonel Adlercron's separate Command, that we have the greatest Reason to flatter Ourselves that the present Alteration will produce good Effects if a Large Number of the Men can be engag'd to stay".[6]

By that time the regiment had fought a short campaign.[7] In April and May there was considerable danger that the French might take Trichinopoly. An expedition sent under the command of Francis Forde against Najib-ulla, Governor of Nellore, an important place about 100 miles north of Madras, had been

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/2/757 (Capt. Walsh to Bagshawe, 23 November 1758).
[2] Ibid. 2/6/134, 137. [3] *Diary* (*Mil. Dept.*) *1756*, pp. 365-6, 370-2.
[4] Home Misc. 94 (4), pp. 116-19 (W. Pitt to Adlercron, 27 January 1757); see also Public Record Office, W.O. 4/53, pp. 138-40 (Lord Barrington to Adlercron, 29 January 1757).
[5] Dispatches to Madras 1, pp. 669-72 (1 February 1757).
[6] Madras Select Committee Proceedings 1757, p. 687.
[7] Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 92-3.

repulsed, and the Select Committee, since reinforcements could not be spared, ordered Forde to return.[1] In the latter part of May Adlercron took the field with orders to march south through Chengalpat and Wandewash to Fort St. David, to engage the French if he thought he could do so successfully, and to keep open the communications to Trichinopoly.[2] He demolished the fortifications of Uttiranmerur (Ootramalore) and was ordered to attack the fort of Wandewash, the killedar of which was a friend of the French, and which lies approximately equidistant from Madras and Fort St. David. Caillaud had already managed to get into Trichinopoly, and Adlercron, since he lacked the material for a siege, drew off, having burnt the suburbs of Wandewash. On 10 June he was recalled into garrison, since no advantage could be expected from the troops keeping the field.[3]

The Select Committee had emphasized to Adlercron the great importance of speed; in fact, he had moved very slowly.[4] His letters contain their usual undertone of querulousness; after describing the impossibility of a regular siege without heavy cannon and entrenching tools, he added a postscript that he greatly felt the "want of a Marquis to dine in", and asked that, if one be made, it be "round . . . and of a strong sail cloth"![5] Meanwhile Lawrence had offered to join the army as a volunteer, and Adlercron had expressed anxiety to have his assistance.[6] It soon became necessary to move the army back against the French, who had plundered Conjeveram, an important town between Madras and Arcot, and the Select Committee tried to persuade Adlercron to remain in Madras and surrender command of the army to Lawrence or to Forde. In the recent march, they wrote in their minutes, "none of the Regulations and precautions absolutely necessary to be observ'd by a Commanding Officer" had been observed, and, in familiar words, while Adlercron commanded, "our Instructions have only the Force of Recommendations, he thinks it in his own Option to execute as much or as little of them as he pleases".[7] Inevitably Adlercron

[1] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, p. 362. [2] Ibid. pp. 400-4.
[3] Ibid. p. 487. [4] Orme MSS. 28. 11 (3), pp. 151-3.
[5] Orme MSS. 61.10 (4), pp. 54-7; Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, pp. 496-7.
[6] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, pp. 522-6. [7] Ibid. pp. 528-9.

refused this request, though Lawrence did join the army and the two men worked together harmoniously. Surgeon Kellett, in describing events to Bagshawe, who had gone home in 1756, said " how long this Harmony will subsist is very uncertain, but the Minute it ends we shall return to Garrison ".[1] In fact very little was done. The Committee feared to risk a defeat and were anxious to get the army back to garrison to save expense,[2] while the French, who were entrenched near Wandewash, were also not anxious for an engagement. On 22 July the Committee decided that the army should move back to Conjeveram,[3] where part remained in cantonments under Forde and the remainder went back to garrison.[4]

Adlercron and the Company's officials went on quarrelling to the bitter end. They applied considerable pressure to get as many men as possible to transfer, while he tried to hold back men who had enlisted for the Company's service as a bargaining point to force them to make plans for the embarkation of the rest.[5] Three hundred and thirty-four men in Madras agreed to transfer with almost all the men serving in Bengal.[6] The veneer of politeness had now quite disappeared. On 22 September the Select Committee asked Adlercron to take passage on the first available ship in order to remove " the Inconveniencies to which the Service has, and must be subjected by a Partition of Command ".[7] Though he maintained that he must be the last person of the regiment to leave, he had eventually to give way as the two ships available could not take all the men (November 1757). Fifty men embarked on these, leaving about sixty more behind with Forde and one subaltern.[8] It must have been with a great sigh of relief that the Select Committee entered in its minutes, " Colonel Adlercron accordingly takes passage on the Princess Augusta for Europe ".[9]

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/150 (25 June 1757); see p. 109 for Bagshawe's return to England.
[2] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, pp. 588-9.
[3] Ibid. pp. 640-1.
[4] Orme, *Transactions*, ii. 221.
[5] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, pp. 867-9, 873-5, 879-80, 881-3, 900-5, 965-6, 968-72.
[6] Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 91, 93.
[7] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, p. 820.
[8] Abstracts of Letters from " Coast " and " Bay " 6, pp. 179-80.
[9] Select Cttee. Proc. 1757, p. 982.

The Bagshawe papers enable us to paint a very full picture of the everyday life of the regiment in India. Clearly the great problem of health and discipline was caused by drunkenness. Lovett wrote to Bagshawe (25 October 1754), asking him to represent to the Governor of Madras " the Fatal Consequence of the Rack (arrack) Sellers supplying the Men wth the Liquor, we loose a man almost every day, & in spite of all our Care the Hospital flows with it ".[1] Instructions were sent accordingly from Madras to the authorities at Fort St. David who were to ensure that arrack was sold only by those who were licensed and that liquor put on sale was not adulterated.[2] There were other problems of acclimatization as well as drink ; in December Surgeon Kellett described to Bagshawe severe illnesses from fever, pains in the bowels, suppression of urine, all due, he thought to "the Excess of Debauchery which reigned for some Time amongst us, the constant heavy rains, the excessive Dampness of the Barracks, & the intolerable Badness of the provisions ".[3] A year later things had got better ; Bagshawe was in Madras for the Heron court-martial, and Kellett reported that the regiment had been very healthy " this Monsoon, seldom exceeding ten in the Hospital & not one has dyed of any Disorder contracted since your Absence ".[4] The drink problem went on, however ; in August 1755 the Fort St. David Council had to close a toddy garden in " Braminy Street in the new Town ". . . " on Account of the Continual Riots and Disturbances made there by His Majesty's Troops who constantly frequent there to drink Toddy & get Drunk and beat and abuse the Inhabitants in a shamefull Manner ".[5]

There are a good many interesting notes and memoranda on service matters. Every officer was to acquaint himself " with the Method of exercising the Reg^{t} as the Major will call upon them to do it ",[6] and was also to keep an orderly book in which to

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/127.

[2] *Diary* (*Public Dept.*) *June-December 1754*, p. 218 ; *Letters from Fort St. George, 1754*, p. 166.

[3] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/176 (6 December 1754).

[4] Ibid. 2/5/269 (3 December 1755).

[5] Fort St. David Consultations, 8 : 1755, p. 109.

[6] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/237.

enter all standing orders.[1] Lovett complained, when he was on duty with the fleet, that he had not a single serjeant or corporal with him who could read or write.[2] Many of the men had considerable previous service; a return of June 1756 shows 117 men who had been on the expedition to L'Orient in 1746, and others who had been besieged in Stirling Castle in the Forty-five.[3] The pay accounts of Bagshawe's company (October-December 1754) shows a week's pay of £17 9s. 11d. for three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and sixty-five privates.[4] An undated regimental order, presumably issued after disembarkation, says that the men were to be issued with necessaries at no more than prime cost because, having pay due to them, it would be in their power to buy them if the pay was issued. However, those who were in debt were to be charged 6d. a shirt, 6d. a pair of stockings, 2d. a pair of country shoes, and 1s. a pair of English above the first price, " as they must be bought with their Capts money & as a punish[t] to them for being so careless to run in debt, & to make up losses Capts may suffer by bad debts ".[5] Another order recommends the troops " to learn to Dress Riċe as its likely the Cooking of their Provisions will be very sone be [*sic*] throne upon themselfs ".[6]

Apart from a few remarks in the officers' letters about individuals, mostly concerned with punishments or promotions, there are very few personal sidelights on the men. The one exception, which suggests that the British soldier has not changed very much in 200 years, is contained in the proceedings of a court martial held by Bagshawe on his voyage home. Corporal Frost was sentenced to be reduced to the ranks and to be given 200 lashes (though these were remitted) for insulting the ship's first officer. The evidence relates that Frost had been making a disturbance and when told to stop had said to the chief officer

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/231. [2] Ibid. 2/6/68.

[3] Ibid. 2/6/49; for the L'Orient expedition see also Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 49-54; Sir John Fortescue, " A Side-Show of the Eighteenth Century ", *The Last Post* (1934).

[4] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/168-74.

[5] Ibid. 2/6/230. Captains paid their men and maintained their dress, arms and accoutrements (*B.J.R.L.* xxxix. 361).

[6] Ibid. 2/6/233.

" that it was much fitter for him to gett him a proper place to lye in wch was his (Mr. Russell's) duty and to see that he had better provision than stinking beef and further said that he did not regard him no more than the dirt under his shoe ".[1]

The frustrations experienced by the officers have been made clear enough already ; " we have no news worth troubling you with ", wrote Kellett to Bagshawe, " every Day gives rise to some Story, which concludes in its own littleness before Night ".[2] They did their best to amuse themselves and there was a good deal of coming and going between them and the French at Pondicherry, which lay so near to Fort St. David. Lovett went to a ball at Pondicherry, wrote Bagshawe, " & made a most extraordinary figure a Guard of the Reg[t] two Toms Toms two stand of Colors & a silver Staff that he might appear agreable to his Rank ".[3] Later the same year Lovett was expected to give a ball himself " which has been so long talked of ", since a large company of French ladies had arrived from Pondicherry.[4] In May 1756 Carnac was at Fort St. George, and complained of the heat, the flies, and the mosquitos. However there were compensations because, during his stay, " there have been three Balls, a Concert and a Theatrical Entertainment ".[5] " We are very melancholy here ", wrote Captain Walsh in December 1755, " for the loss of the Ladies who sett out yesterday for Pondicherry escorted by Call and Power. Kellet and I (the two gallantest young Gent of this Garrison) attended them on foot to Pania River, but were not able to proceed further." [6] Miss Berriman had had an offer from Captain Pascal, wrote Bagshawe to Caillaud in January 1756, and it was thought she was a fool to refuse him.[7] Later Carnac took up the story of the same lady ; she was to marry on " Friday " a man unnamed ; " Cupid must indeed be a blind archer to dart his shafts from so bad a lodgement, when he might have fixed his residence so much better in Amy Hopkins' eyes ".[8]

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/141 (26 April 1757). [2] Ibid. 2/5/279 (27 December 1755).
[3] Ibid. 2/5/195 (Bagshawe to Major Bridge, 19 February 1755).
[4] Ibid. 2/5/275 (Martin Yorke to Bagshawe, 20 December 1755).
[5] Ibid. 2/6/41 (19 May 1756). [6] Ibid. 2/5/272.
[7] Ibid. 2/6/9. [8] Ibid. 2/6/62 (16 June 1756).

Naturally the Bagshawe papers give especially full information about his own affairs. He did not plan, he wrote to the regimental agent in November 1754, to draw his personal pay, but to leave it for the use of his family.[1] If he were to live a year longer, he told the Duke of Devonshire in February 1756, he would have repaid his uncle the money he had borrowed to purchase his lieutenant-colonelcy.[2] There are details of the money he spent, both on food and drink and on presents. He bought from Captain Norway of the Company's service, salt beef, hams and tongues, bread and beer, claret and rhenish.[3] He sent Norway a bill for 200 pagodas to be laid out in China on things " agreable to a Woman ", and a copy of his arms in colour (presumably to be put on a set of chinaware).[4] In April 1755 he bought from Thomas Lockhart " 1 sett of China Ware 120 Pieces 4 Pieces Lankeen 2 Cannisters Green Tea 2 Cattys ea " for twenty-six pagodas,[5] and a month earlier Lawrence was buying muslin, necklaces, and earrings for Mrs. Bagshawe.[6] However he warned Lawrence that too much must not be sent. " Oeconomy is a necessary Maxim in Matrimony. We should not give all at once, beside I may go home & must not go empty-handed." [7]

Stress has already been laid on his friendly relations with the officials of the Company. Caillaud sent him hams and porter and Mrs. Bagshawe a shawl.[8] John Call, the engineer at Madras, sent him a punch ladle " which if not equal to a Bath or Tunbridge one, will I daresay empty many a Bowl of Punch ".[9] When Kilpatrick was ordered to Bengal in 1756, he had been expecting to go home, and Bagshawe had been giving him introductions; later he sent Bagshawe news from Bengal.[10] When Bagshawe was ill and waiting to go home, Robert Orme wrote to say that he had sent a loaf of bread every day " because I knew the Difficulty there is of getting any now that is fit to eat ".[11] Mrs. Clive asked him to take a letter for Clive's mother, who would certainly be pleased to see someone of whom her son

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/5/143 (To John Calcraft, 7 November 1754).
[2] Ibid. 2/6/15. [3] Ibid. 2/5/207, 2/6/273. [4] Ibid. 2/5/207, 209.
[5] Ibid. 2/6/277. [6] Ibid. 2/5/220. [7] Ibid. 2/5/210 (19 February 1755).
[8] Ibid. 2/5/234, 242. [9] Ibid. 2/5/190. [10] Ibid. 2/6/84, 87, 106, 2/2/291.
[11] Ibid. 2/6/113 (15 October 1756).

thought so highly, and Bagshawe and Clive remained on friendly terms after Bagshawe came home.[1] These letters do throw a far pleasanter light on Madras society than the official records suggest. Personal friendships could flourish amid political disagreement; as Bagshawe wrote to Adlercron during the Heron court martial, the business was likely to be long and tedious. "Indeed the good Entertainment the good Comp^{y} & the good Claret are no small help to repair in the latter what we want in the first part of the Day."[2]

Not all the officers of the 39th Foot came home again. Five of the officers serving in Bengal, Adnett, Carnac, Yorke, Donnellan and Broadbridge, and two in Madras, Powell and Edward Forde, took the opportunity of transferring.[3] Major Francis Forde, who had remained behind after Adlercron's departure, was appointed early in 1758 to the command of the troops in Bengal in succession to Major Kilpatrick who died of fever in October 1757.[4] Forde's wife, who wrote to Bagshawe on his return home, was not to have the pleasure, to which she was looking forward, of seeing her husband in summer 1758. Certainly, she wrote, staying abroad was some advantage financially, but, had she power to prevent it, "I would not undergoe . . . such another cruel Sepparation, for half India".[5] Carnac's explanation of his reasons for transferring probably holds good to some degree for all his brother-officers who took the same step. He had got a step in rank to captain; "the Gentlemen of Madras were extremely solicitous for my stay. I was heartily tired of being Seventeen Years a Subaltern in His Majesty's Service, without the least prospect of bettering myself, and besides was so much dissatisfied with Mr. Adlercron that I was resolved to have no further connection with him."[6]

The Colonel himself did not reach Cork until 24 October 1758.[7] Forde's action in accepting the command in Bengal was, he wrote to Bagshawe, "contrary to His Majesty's Instructions

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/6/120 (26 October 1756); 2/2/104-8 are letters from Clive after Bagshawe's return home. [2] Ibid. 2/5/254 (2 November 1755).
[3] Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 91, 93.
[4] Forde, *Lord Clive's Right Hand Man*, p. 29.
[5] Bagshawe MSS. 2/2/187 (6 July 1757). [6] Ibid. 2/2/83 (4 March 1758).
[7] Atkinson, *Dorsetshire Regt.*, i. 95.

and the orders I left him to follow us by the first ship "; moreover since Forde was paymaster and had sent no accounts, the regimental finances were in confusion, and the agent could not settle them.[1] By February 1759 things were no better; "things are so intricate by Major Forde's staying in India, and the Company refusing to pay his Bills".[2] Captain Hepburne wrote to Bagshawe in November 1758 that he was to succeed to Forde's majority, but then later that Forde's friends had arranged for him to retain it so that Hepburne was not to have it. He repeated the same story of confusion in the accounts; consequently there was no money to start recruiting.[3] At the end of 1760 Captain Campbell wrote that the accounts were all made up, and that Calcraft had paid most of the captains their balances, though the men were beginning to be "very troublesome at its being so long delayed".[4] In fact Corneille was still corresponding with Bagshawe in May 1761 about the final clearance of the Indian account of his company.[5]

Other letters deal with the personal affairs of those who had made the great voyage. Kellett's mother wrote from Cork, saying that her son had drawn on her in Bagshawe's favour for £24 8s. and thanking him for "Your great frindships shown my son".[6] Hepburne was anxious to come to Bagshawe's Derbyshire home at Ford, but his worldly possessions were still in "that vile tub which brought me from India", which had not yet come round from Ireland.[7] Captain Walsh wrote copious military gossip. Brereton, who was a major in Draper's regiment, wanted information about India;[8] the greater part of this regiment, numbered the 79th, landed at Madras in September 1758. Walsh passed on rumours about Coote's future plans,[9] and wrote (16 January 1759) "Coote has got the Battalion to the amazement of Mankind".[10] This battalion, the 84th, landed at

[1] Bagshawe MSS. 2/2/39 (30 November 1758).
[2] Ibid. 2/2/40 (Adlercron to Bagshawe).
[3] Ibid. 2/2/266, 267 (9 November, 7 December 1758).
[4] Ibid. 2/2/80 (25 December 1760).
[5] Ibid. 2/2/115.
[6] Ibid. 2/2/288 (29 April 1758).
[7] Ibid. 2/2/262 (2 June 1758).
[8] Ibid. 2/2/746 (3 December 1757).
[9] Ibid. 2/2/749, 750 (16, 20 December 1757).
[10] Ibid. 2/2/759; for the 79th and 84th regiments see Col. H. C. Wylly, *Neill's "Blue Caps"* (privately printed, n.d.), i (1639-1826), 118.

Madras in October 1759. Coote was luckier than Adlercron and his regiment; a few months later he won the battle of Wandewash.

After the 79th and the 84th a long succession of royal regiments were to follow the 39th Foot, later to become the 1st Battalion, the Dorsetshire Regiment, to India. Their title, "Primus in Indis", is not only honourable in itself; it is honourable as the first in a long succession which was to make the histories of both Britain and India different from what they would otherwise have been. This succession has ended only in our own day.

SOCIALISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE CERCLE SOCIAL AND THE ENRAGÉS

By R. B. ROSE, M.A.

"THE revolutionary movement which began in 1789 with the Cercle Social", Marx and Engels wrote in 1845, "whose main representatives were to be Leclerc and Roux, and which ended in Babeuf's conspiracy, gave birth to the communist idea which Buonarotti, friend of Babeuf, reintroduced into France after the revolution of 1830".[1]

This view, as it relates either to the Revolution or to the origins of communism seems to have received little or no attention from Marxist historiography.[2] Nevertheless Marx's personal debt to Buonarotti, and his friendship with G. J. Harney, Buonarotti's English disciple,[3] must invest the passage with a certain authority for Marxist and non-Marxist alike. It is curious, therefore, that, with the exception of a pioneer study published in 1899,[4] there has been no serious attempt to assess the influence and significance of the Cercle Social nor, even, a recognition of its place in the development of socialist thought.[5]

It would be difficult to sustain the argument that the Cercle Social gave birth to the idea of communism, or even of socialism, for both ideas were already deep rooted in the concern of eighteenth century thinkers with equality. Towards the close of the seventeenth century Louis XIV's court preacher, Bishop Bossuet, whose works were required reading for the pious for most of the following century, addressed a stern adjuration to the rich in his *Panégyrique de Saint François d'Assise*. "Si nous voulions monter à l'origine des choses," he warned, "nous

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Die Heilige Familie* (1845), p. 186.

[2] Cf. "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the French Revolution of 1789", *International Literature*, vii (Moscow, July 1939), which ignores the above passage.

[3] M. Leroy, *Histoire des Idées Sociales en France*, ii. 90.

[4] A. Lichtenberger, *Le Socialisme et la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1899).

[5] Cf. H. Laski, "The socialist tradition in the French Revolution", *Social and Political Ideas of the Revolutionary Era*, p. 201.

trouverions, peut-être, qu'ils (i.e. the poor) n'auraient pas moins de droit que vous aux biens que vous possédez. La Nature, ou plutôt, pour parler plus chrétiennement, Dieu, le Père commun des hommes, a donné dès le commencement un droit égal à tous ses enfants sur toutes les choses dont ils ont besoin pour la conservation de leur vie. Aucun de nous ne se peut vanter d'être plus avantagé que les autres par la Nature ; mais l'insatiable désir d'amasser n'a permit que cette belle fraternité put durer dans le monde. Il a fallu venir au partage et à la propriété qui a produit toutes les querelles et tous les procès." [1] Thus, long before the publication of Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* in 1755, the main theme of the Discourse, the fall from a primitive, natural state of grace and community had become a convention of French political thought.

There were not a few advocates of Utopian communism, or a return to the state of Nature, in eighteenth century France. To the Abbé Morelly, whose *Code de la Nature* appeared in the same year as the *Discourse on Inequality*, the first and most important law of the ideal society was : " Rien dans la société n'appartiendra singulièrement ni en propriété à personne, que les choses dont il fera un usage actuel ", while elsewhere we are assured that " Le monde est une table suffisamment garnie pour tous les convives, dont tous les mets appartient, tantôt à tous, parce que tous ont faim, tantôt à quelques-uns seulement, parce que les autres sont rassasiés, ainsi personne n'en est absolument le maître ni a droit de prétendre l'être." [2] Restif de la Bretonne's *Andrographe* sketched an agrarian Utopia, similar to that envisaged in the *Code de la Nature*.[3] In his one attempt to create a near-Utopia, the *Project de la Constitution de la Corse*, even Rousseau confessed : " Far from desiring the state to be poor, I should wish, on the contrary, to see all property in its hands and no individual admitted to any share of the common stock, save in proportion to his services " [4] and the opening passage from the second part of the *Discourse on Inequality* is a

[1] Gray, *The Socialist Tradition from Moses to Lenin*, p. 54.

[2] Morelly, *Code de la Nature* (Geuthner, Paris, 1910), pp. 85 and 13.

[3] Lichtenberger, op. cit. p. 46.

[4] *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Vaughan (Cambridge, 1915), i. 108.

constantly recurring theme in revolutionary oratory: "Vous êtes perdus si vous oubliez que les fruits sont à tous, et la terre n'est à personne." [1]

The particular significance of the Cercle Social lies in the fact that, of the many political clubs and societies founded by the revolutionaries in the early years of the revolution, it was responsible for disseminating the ideas of the Philosophes in their most "socialistic" aspect.

The club owed its founding to the zeal of Nicholas de Bonneville, freemason, journalist, and member of the Cordelier club, the most advanced of the revolutionary political clubs. Captured by an enthusiasm for the possibilities inherent in the transfer of political power to the people, de Bonneville dedicated himself to educating the masses to seize their opportunity. Since, he wrote, "Le peuple ne veut vivre que le jour dont il est maître . . . il faudrait lui montrer l'avenir et mettre cet avenir sous ses yeux et sous sa main".[2]

Already, since June, editor of the *Tribun du Peuple*,[3] de Bonneville decided, in October 1789, to found a new journal based on these principles, to be known as the *Bouche de Fer*. The projected journal differed from the generality of revolutionary publications in that it was not to be the highly individualistic work of one man, but was to be published by a subscription society, whose members were to join in its editing and to supervise its policy, "Les personnes qui voudront être membres du Cercle Social, et concourir à la censure de la *Bouche de Fer*", it was announced, "se feront inscrire au bureau de l'imprimeur de l'Assemblée Nationale".[4] The Cercle Social thus originated as a kind of editorial board for the newspaper *Bouche de Fer*. It was intended that it should meet every Thursday at 4 p.m., and de Bonneville planned the first issue of the paper for November. Whether or not his first plans

[1] *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Vaughan (Cambridge, 1915), i, 169.

[2] *Lettre à M. le Maire et Messieurs des Districts de Paris* (in the John Rylands Library). The pamphlet, a prospectus, is anonymous. De Bonneville admitted authorship in the *Organe du Cercle Social* (in Rylands), Letter i., p. 41.

[3] S. Lacroix, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, vii. 561 ff.

[4] *Lettre à M. le Maire . . .*

succeeded, by January 1790 at the latest, both society and journal were well established in Paris.[1] Encouraged by this success, de Bonneville began to canvass a more ambitious scheme; the founding of a chain of sister societies in each of the departments of France to publish a series of journals for which the Paris organ was to be the model.[2] In association, it was later suggested, was to be a nation-wide organization of "Tribuns du Peuple" elected for each department, with a watching brief for the people's interests.

At first sight such a project might seem to have affinities with a national, democratic, political party. De Bonneville, however, used to the spirit of the secretive masonic lodge, intended it rather as a society of élite devoted to educating the masses.[3]

For a long time, despite his original aims, the Cercle Social and its journal seem to have been Nicholas de Bonneville, writ large. A study of content and style suggests that a great many of the "letters to the editor" which appear under different pseudonyms are in fact the work of the editor himself. In March 1790, however, direct evidence of the interest and support of the Abbé Fauchet appeared, in the shape of a signed letter in defence of Danton, at that time under threat of imprisonment for his part in organizing the Cordeliers district to resist the arrest of Marat by the Châtelêt authorities.[4]

Fauchet was a cleric who had enjoyed a distinguished career under the Ancien Régime. Born at Dornes in 1744, he was educated by the Jesuits before becoming a seminarist at Bourges.[5] Thereafter, protected by the Comte de Noailles,[6] he achieved the high dignity of Prédicateur du Roi, and became Grand Vicaire to Phélipeaux, Bishop of Bourges.[7] The Abbé de

[1] *Cercle Social*, Letter i, p. 1 (in Rylands). It is this letter which fixes the date of the original proposal as October, 1789. The writings of the "Bouche de Fer", de Bonneville's editorial pseudonym, were at first published under this head, and are so bound in the Rylands collection. [2] *Cercle Social*, Letter vii, p. 42.

[3] Ibid. Letter xliii, p. 243.

[4] Ibid. Letter xl, p. 213. For this adventure of Danton see Madelin, *Danton*, ch. ii.

[5] Durieux, *Vainqueurs de la Bastille*, pp. 79 ff.

[6] Dorimon, "L'Abbé Claude Fauchet, Membre de la Commune", *Revue de la Révolution*, x (1887), 148.

[7] Durieux, op. cit. pp. 79 ff.

Montfort, for such was Fauchet's official title, was so highly esteemed in aristocratic circles as to be chosen by the Marquis de Choiseul as tutor for his children.[1] It was nevertheless the same Fauchet who led one of the besieger's deputations to the Bastille on 14 July 1789.[2] On 5 August he preached the sermon on the Bastille dead.[3] His discourse on this occasion, repeated in the various parish churches of the capital, and printed in pamphlet form both in Paris and at Lyons, laid the foundation for a career of popular preaching in the revolutionary interest which was eventually, in May 1791, to secure the Abbé's election as Constitutional Bishop of Calvados.

On 31 August[4] and 27 September 1789[5] the first " discourse on French liberty " was followed by a second and a third, both similarly published as pamphlets. Fauchet became so popular that, in August, Parisians were paying 24 *sols* to obtain a seat at one of his sermons.[6] The third discourse, that of 27 September, was delivered in the great Cathedral of Notre Dame, before the newly formed National Guard, as an important official occasion. In the meantime Fauchet had secured, on 18 September, election to the General Council of the Commune of Paris, on which both he and de Bonneville sat until 8 October 1790.[7] At the time of his intervention on behalf of Danton, Fauchet was, in fact, president of the Commune.[8] As one of the most prominent orators of the revolutionary party, Fauchet was again honoured in July 1790, by being chosen to deliver the public eulogy of Benjamin Franklin, whose death had recently occurred.[9]

Until October 1790, Fauchet's association with de Bonneville does not seem to have been much closer than their common

[1] Aulard, article in the *Grande Encyclopædie*. [2] Durieux, loc. cit.

[3] *Discours sur la Liberté Française* (Paris and Lyons, 1789), in John Rylands Library French Historical Tracts, referred to below as (Ryl. F.H.T.).

[4] *Second Discours* . . . (Paris and Lyons, 1789) (Ryl. F.H.T.).

[5] *Troisième Discours* . . . (Paris, 1789) (Ryl. F.H.T.).

[6] Goncourt, *Histoire de la Société Française pendant la Révolution*, p. 126.

[7] Aulard, op. cit. (for Fauchet); Lacroix, op. cit. ii. 9, vii. 561 (for de Bonneville).

[8] Fauchet was president from 1 to 15 March 1790, inclusive; Lacroix, op. cit. iv. 249, 420.

[9] *Eloge Civique de Benjamin Franklin* (Paris, 1790) (Ryl. F.H.T.).

membership of the Commune must have dictated. In that month, however, both men, freed from their responsibilities as municipal officers, decided to collaborate in a new venture of the Cercle Social, the founding of the " Confédération Universelle des Amis de la Vérité ", composed according to its initial programme :

" I°. Du Cercle Social qui en a conçu le dessin, offert les facilitiés, commencé l'exécution, et de tous les cercles de francs-frères qui lui sont affiliés ", and :

" 2°. De tous les abonnés du journal de la *Bouche de Fer*, tant en France que parmi les autres nations." [1]

It is by confusion with this event that the date of foundation of the Cercle Social has been universally given as October 1790.

The prime inspiration in the new movement was that of the freemasons. " L'idée d'intéresser tous les francs-frères répandus dans les diverses parties du monde ", enthused Fauchet, " à rallier les hommes aux principes de liberté, égalité, d'union, est l'une des plus heureuses qui peut entrer dans l'esprit humain ".[2] The new society quickly established international connections. Correspondence was received from Britain, Poland, and the Empire, while books from its allied publishing house, the Imprimerie du Cercle Social (Rue du Théâtre Français, no. 4) were sold, in 1793, in cities as far apart as Philadelphia, Geneva, Utrecht and Genoa.[3] Within France the intention was to found a chain of societies in each town and city.[4] That this project was not entirely a failure is evident from the *Appel aux Françoises*, a reprint of an address delivered by the feminist pioneer, Etta Palm d'Aelders, to the " charitable circle " of the Amis de La Vérité in December 1790. The municipal officers of Creil, a town on the Oise, about thirty miles north of Paris, were so impressed by the discourse that, the following February, mentioning

[1] *Programme du Cercle Social* (Paris, 1790).

[2] *Bouche de Fer*, no. 4°, 3 année, " Réponse de Claude Fauchet aux objections de M. La Harpe " (in Rylands).

[3] For the correspondence see various letters appearing in the *Bouche de Fer* ; a publisher's list of the publications of the Cercle Social press, together with the names of its foreign agents, may be found in the *Bulletin des Amis de la Vérité*, vol. i, " L'an premier de la République " (1793).

[4] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. i, no. i.

their constant liason with the Amis de la Vérité, they sent the orator a cockade and a medal.[1] Their covering letter, reprinted with the address, is one of several indications of the provincial connections of the Amis.

The founding of the Amis de la Vérité caused a considerable stir in the capital. A contemporary account of the opening session has been preserved in the correspondence of the Breton Comte de Châteaugiron, who received from a Paris agent fairly regular news letters covering much of the revolutionary period.[2] "La soirée du 13" the agent wrote, in October 1790, "acte remarquable au Palais Royal, par l'inauguration de la Confédération Universelle des Amis de la Vérité. C'est l'Abbé Fauchet qui a ouvert la séance par un discours très éloquent sur la situation des intérêts nationaux, sur l'opinion publique, et sur les avantages de réunir en un seul club tous les clubs de la capitale à fin que l'esprit public soit un, qu'il n'y ait qu'un seul foyer où il puisse venir alimenter son civisme de nouvelles lumières et de nouvelles motifs pour être plus attaché à la révolution et à la constitution. Tous les citoyens de la terre seront, s'ils sont honnêtes, et s'ils le veulent, affiliés à ce club où l'on saura tout ce qui se passe en Europe, où le comité auront soin de vérifier tous les évènements qui y seront annoncés. . . . Il y aura un comité de bienfaisance et cette institution philanthropique servira de secours aux hommes honnêtes et éclairés qui sont dans le besoin."

Despite the broad, magnificent welcome extended to all the citizens of the world, the Amis de la Vérité were, like de Bonneville's Tribunes, conceived of as an élite. "C'est la philosophie, répandue dans la multitude des têtes supérieures", explained Fauchet, "et de là dans la majorité des esprits populaires qui peut seul instituer le vrai code social".[3] The annual subscription, according to Châteaugiron's correspondent, was 36 livres, many days' wages for the majority of labourers and

[1] *Appel aux Françoises . . . Par Etta Palm d'Aelders* (Paris, 1791).

[2] Gazette manuscrite de René le Prêtre de Châteaugiron, Rylands French MS. 50.

[3] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. ii, no. 7, 14th discourse. Cf. Fauchet's later observation: "Les instructeurs des hommes, les directeurs de l'opinion sont les regulateurs de la société", *Journal des Amis*, xi. 1793.

artisans. Among the " têtes supérieures " who lent their support were Condorcet, Goupil de Prefelne, Chabroux, and Athanase Auger ; among the occasional visitors such famous figures as Brissot, Madame Roland, Camille Desmoulins, Thomas Paine, and the Abbé Siéyès.

From the first, the meetings of the Confédération were crowded ;[1] 6,000 people collected at the opening session in the Cirque of the Palais Royal,[2] and Camille Desmoulins, reporting to the Jacobin club, estimated the membership of the Cercle Social at 3,000.[3] The first major venture of the society was a series of lectures on Rousseau and the Social Contract, delivered by Fauchet, and reprinted in the pages of the *Bouche de Fer*. The lectures marked a distinct and individual development of the ideas of Rousseau in a socialist direction. The clerical revolutionary argued from a " Christian socialist " position, and his ideal society like that of Bossuet and Morelly was a Christian commonwealth. " Les premiers disciples ", he once observed " étaient égaux et libres ; leur république devait servir de modèle, dans la maturité du temps, à la république de l'Univers." [4] As a christian, and, perhaps, also as a mason, Fauchet differed from Rousseau in his concept of the " state of nature ". Whereas to Rousseau the family was the only natural association, to Fauchet all men were bound together in a common fraternity by mutual love : " L'homme est un être aimant par nature, et ne peut trouver que dans la fraternité son bonheur." [5] Society as it existed, based on the oppression of the poor by the rich, denied this principle.[6] In his eighth discourse the orator inveighed against this " régime infernal " in which while millions were not certain of getting enough to eat although asking for work, a few " riches insolents " who might have everything at their pleasure without working would allow them to eat only in exchange for

[1] The first two sessions on 13 and 22 October, were open to the public. Later a charge was made for non-members. [2] Rylands French MS. 50.

[3] *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, liv. 61.

[4] *Frère Claude* (Paris, 1791) (Ryl. F.H.T.). A satirical work by de Bonneville containing extracts from the discourses and writings of Fauchet, after a break between the two men.

[5] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. i, no. 9, third discourse.

[6] Ibid. ser. i, no. 3, preliminary discourse.

their labour.[1] The best social legislation, the Abbé declared, must be directed towards the destruction of this division of society into plutocrat and proletarian ; it must ensure sufficient of the world's goods to all. Then there would be neither rich nor poor, no man would be coerced into selling his labour, and none would wish to buy it. Without this social revolution, Fauchet felt, political liberty would remain a hollow illusion : " Si tout homme en tout lieu n'est pas assuré par la constitution de vivre d'une suffisante vie, il n'y a point de constitution, la nature est violée, la liberté n'est pas."

To secure essential social equality it was necessary to envisage a considerable redistribution of wealth : " Les plus riches seront imposés par les loix de manière à supplier les moyens des pauvres ".[2] Ever since September 1789 Fauchet had been advocating a progressive tax.[3] Only recently de Bonneville, in his *De L'Esprit des Religions*, had advocated a system of allowances to the poor, based on need.[4] Thus the machinery for redistribution was already envisaged. But firstly it was necessary to find some theoretical justification for such an attack on property. For this Fauchet appealed to the basic social contract. " Tout homme a droit à la terre ", he argued, " et doit y avoir en propriété de domaine son existence. Il en prend possession par le travail, et sa portion doit être circonscrite par les droits de ses égaux. Tous les droits sont mis en commun dans une société bien ordonnée ; la souveraineté sociale doit tirer ses lignes de manière que tous aient quelque chose, et qu'aucun n'ait rien de trop." [5]

The progressive tax appears to have roused little violent opposition. By contrast, another scheme for redistribution dear to the hearts of the members of the Cercle Social, the inheritance tax, called forth enthusiastic denunciation from all quarters.

Even Montesquieu, least revolutionary of the Philosophes, had agreed, in the *Spirit of the Laws*, that " The order of successions depends on political or civil law, not natural law ". The

[1] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. i, no. 29. [2] Ibid. ser. ii, nos. 19 and 20, 18th discourse.
[3] *Troisième Discours sur la Liberté Française* (1789).
[4] Le Harivel, *Nicholas de Bonneville : Pré-Romantique et Révolutionnaire* (Oxford, 1923). [5] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. i, no. 22 (missing from Rylands series).

regulation of inheritance by the body politic was thus a quite respectable principle. Nevertheless, in his eighth discourse, Fauchet deemed it necessary to defend himself against the charge levelled against him by Laclos and others at the Jacobin Club, that he was preaching the " Loi Agraire " or the forcible redistribution of land.[1] In reply he directed his attackers to his book *La Religion Naturelle*, in which he had merely suggested that the law should forbid the future formation of estates worth more than 50,000 livres of annual rent, and that on the death of the present owners all inherited estates should be reduced to that size by a tax.[2] De Bonneville, in less radical mood, restricted his proposals to an attack on primogeniture, declaring that " Le seul moyen possible d'arriver à la grande communion sociale est de diviser les héritages territoriaux en parts égales et déterminées par les enfants du défunt ".[3]

The Cercle Social was careful to deny any sympathy with those peasants who took the law into their own hands, and set about imposing their own " Loi Agraire ", by refusing dues, and partitioning the great estates. In the *Programme* of the Confédération des Amis de la Vérité, its author complained : " La *Bouche de Fer* a dit expressément que les partages de terre, obtenus jusqu'ici par la force n'étaient que les brigandages et l'on nous a accusé de demander la loi agraire ",[4] while elsewhere Fauchet cautioned his followers : " Les propriétés mêmes qui contrarient par leur excès les premiers convenances naturelles et sociales, ne doivent être modifiés que par des progressions attentives." [5]

Within these limits of legality, however, the members appear to have been sincere in their wish for a more equalitarian distribution of property. On 21 October 1791, deploring that in a large society it was impossible to fulfil nature's wish that the earth should be divided equally among its inhabitants, but yet maintaining that some redistribution was both possible and necessary, Athanase Auger submitted to the Legislative Assembly

[1] See *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, vol. liv.

[2] Lichtenberger, op. cit. pp. 72-3.

[3] Le Harivel, op. cit. p. 35, quoting *De l'Esprit des Religions.*

[4] *Programme du Cercle Social.*

[5] *Bouche de Fer*, ser. ii, no. 3.

a petition based upon Fauchet's modest proposals.[1] Nothing further appears to have been heard of this petition, which was not allowed to influence the Assembly's policy.

The achievements of the Cercle Social, despite its leading rôle in the republican agitation of 1791, reviewed by Mathiez in his study of the Varennes crisis,[2] remained theoretical and educational rather than practical. To socialist thought it contributed the progressive tax and the inheritance tax, to which ought, perhaps, to be added Condorcet's projects for a contributory old age pension, and widows' and orphans' insurance,[3] and de Bonneville's plan for systematic "national assistance". Some of the ideas born in this milieu were actually applied by the Jacobins in 1793 and 1794. The others, and especially Fauchet's theoretical justification of collectivist measures against private property, influenced a whole stratum of revolutionaries. Thus Goupil de Préfelne is said to have preached the doctrines of the Abbé Fauchet at the Société Fraternelle,[4] a "popular society" for both sexes which met, from February 1790, at the premises of the Jacobin Club to hear and have explained the decrees of the revolutionary assemblies. Among the more famous members of the club at one time or another were the Duc de Chartres (the future King Louis Philippe), the grammarian Nöel, and popular leaders like Hébert, Varlet, Maillard and Fournier L'Americain.

At the beginning of 1793, the editor of *L'Indépendant*, a Parisian revolutionary journal, paid tribute to Fauchet and to his teachings "hasardées à une époque où près que tout le monde faisait son éducation politique", and summed up their significance for his generation in a passage reminiscent of the *Bouche de Fer* itself. "Dans une association fondée sur de bonnes bases", he wrote, "et régie par de sages institutions, les citoyens n'ont pas tous la même fortune, parce qu'ils n'ont pas tous les mêmes bras, la même intelligence, la même économie: mais les

[1] Lichtenberger, op. cit. pp. 74-5.

[2] Mathiez, *Le Club des Cordeliers pendant la Crise de Varennes* (Paris, 1910).

[3] Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de L'Esprit Humain* (Bibliothèque Choisie, Paris, 1829), p. 258.

[4] Desgenettes, *Souvenir de la Fin du xviii^e Siècle et du Commencement du xix^e* (Didot, Paris, 1836), ii. 240.

disproportions choquantes sont inconnues; l'oeil n'est point attristé par le contraste du marbre des palais, et de la boue des chaumières, par l'insultante image du malheureux qui meurt de faim, et du riche qui meurt de satiété."

The limitations of the " socialism " of the Cercle Social are also significant. Concerned only with property in land, the members were in no sense opposed to the private ownership of merchant or industrial capital, nor were they indeed anxious to see its use controlled or checked. In his eighteenth discourse, Fauchet declared : " Il ne peut avoir qu'un seul système de bonne législation, celui qui assure la suffisante existence à tous les associés et l'entière liberté à toutes les industries." Thus the Abbé wished on the one hand to arrest the proletarianization of labour by ending the buying and selling of labour power and yet, on the other, to see capital freed from all the checks and restraints which had hindered this very development.

The ideas of the " Friends of Truth " cannot but have been influenced in this connection by the social environment in which they moved. Fauchet and Condorcet would regularly dine with the Girondin leaders Gensonné, Guadet, Ducos and Vergniaud at the Salon of Mme. Dodun, wife of a wealthy director of the Compagnie des Indes. They were also to be found, on occasion, at the Rolands' or the salon kept by the Swiss banker Clavière. The political orientation of the Cercle Social was, in fact, with the Gironde, the party associated with the liberal merchant and banking interest. Its socialism was a socialism of sentiment, without any direct appeal to the masses. Nevertheless, as a foyer for new ideas, its influence must have been immense. For it was in this milieu that there flourished, almost for the first time in their modern context, the concepts of a democratic franchise, equality of the sexes, and of a Republic which would assume the responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens, not as an unpleasant and temporary necessity, but as a matter of principle and policy.

By contrast with the Cercle Social, the Enragés, the revolutionary group with which the names of Roux and Leclerc are associated, have received considerable attention from historians. The Enragés formed, in 1793, first an ultra-revolutionary pressure

group in alliance with the Jacobins, and subsequently a " left opposition " to the government of Robespierre and the Montagne. As such they figure largely in such left-wing studies of the period as Jaurès *Histoire Socialiste*, and Daniel Guérin's *Lutte de Classes sous la Première République*. Although a specialist treatise has been published on the group by the Soviet historian F. M. Zacker,[1] and a separate biographical sketch of one of its leaders by Maurice Dommanget,[2] the best readily accessible account of the Enragés is contained in Mathiez' *La Vie Chère et Le Mouvement Social sous la Terreur*, published in 1927.[3]

In the broadest sense the Enragés are, as Mathiez described them, " The organ of the disinherited classes, a prey to famine and misery . . . popular agitators who proposed, as remedies for the excessive rise in the price and scarcity of foodstuffs and essentials, requisition, ' taxation ', or the official regulation of prices, and the repression of speculative hoarding ".[4] In the narrower and now more generally accepted sense they are a Parisian group of such tribunes, acting together with a greater or lesser degree of political cohesion. It would be wrong, however, to regard even the Paris Enragés as a closely organized party. Significantly, even the description " enragé " had no exclusive connotation for contemporaries of the Revolution and was applied to " fanatical extremists " of all tendencies. Nevertheless modern historians, like Marx in 1845, have seen in this sometimes uneasy alliance of individuals the germ of a socialist movement and a socialist ideology.

The Enragés were of diverse origins and experience, although they were all drawn from one section or another of the middle class. There were three men and two women. Two were Parisians, while the three others were provincials, from widely separated parts of France.

[1] *Beshenye* (Leningrad, 1931).

[2] *Jacques Roux*, " *Le Curé Rouge* " (Cahiers Spartacus, 2ième série, no. 10, Paris, 1948).

[3] Where specific references are not given, material in the following biographical sketches of the Enragés is based either on the accounts cited above, or on a thesis by the writer on " The Enragés and the French Revolution " deposited at Manchester University.

[4] " Un Enragé Inconnu ", *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* (1930), p. 209.

Jacques Roux, generally regarded as the chief figure of the Enragés, was a priest. Born at Saint Cibard de Pransac, near Angoulême, in 1752, he was one of the twelve children of Gratien Roux, at that time Lieutenant of Infantry, and later Judge-assessor to the Marquis de Pransac. After studying at the Seminary at Angoulême, Roux took the tonsure at fifteen, and at twenty was himself teaching there as an auxiliary; he later took over the teaching of Philosophy and Physics. In 1785 Roux appears to have left the seminary for Saintes, where he became, for a while, almoner at the château of the Montlausiers. Shortly afterwards he was appointed to the living of Cozes, a small village of about 1,500 souls. At the outbreak of the Revolution the thirty-seven years old priest was Vicaire of the more important parish of St. Thomas de Cosnac. In 1790, suspected of having, by incendiary preaching, provoked a "jacquerie", or agrarian rising in his village, Roux was driven out by interdict, and made his way to Paris, where he hastened to restore his fortunes by taking the oath of allegiance to the revolutionary constitution, condemned by the Pope, and refused by many of his colleagues. Shortly afterwards he was elected Vicaire of St. Nicholas des Champs. St. Nicholas was one of the twelve ancient cures of the city of Paris, and a slum parish containing about 50,000 inhabitants, many of them crowded, in conditions of squalor, in the densely populated Gravilliers Section. His experiences in the Gravilliers imbued Roux with a burning hatred of social injustice, and of the political tyranny from which, he believed, it sprang. He established a strong political influence in the Gravilliers and Observatoire Sections, and in November 1792 was elected by the Gravilliers to the Paris Commune; one of his duties as a member was to accompany Louis to the scaffold, and report his execution. In 1793 he emerged as a critic not only of the laissez-faire economics of the Gironde, but of the Montagne and their constitution of June 1793, which he blamed for offering no solution to the social and economic needs of his parishioners. His agitation against the Constitution, and his scathing criticisms in the *Publiciste*,[1] a continuation of Marat's journal which he edited, earned Roux

[1] *Publiciste du Peuple Français par l'Ombre de Marat, l'Ami du Peuple.*

the enmity of Robespierre and the Jacobins, and in August he was arrested. In January 1794 he committed suicide to avoid appearing before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Of the pre-revolutionary career of Jean Francois Varlet, the "theorist" of the Enragés, less is known. He was born in Paris in 1764,[1] and received a University education at the Collège d'Harcourt, the college of Laharpe and Talleyrand. An investigation revealed in October 1793 that, on the death of his mother, a widow, Varlet had inherited an annual income from property of 5,800 livres, so that, apart from duties in connection with a job at the Bureau des Postes, secured in 1792, he appears to have been in sufficiently comfortable circumstances to devote all his time to revolutionary intrigue and agitation. He became famous for his revolutionary orations, delivered from the benches of the Palais Royal, and from a mobile tribune in the Tuileries gardens. Although he failed to secure election to any of the revolutionary assemblies or to the Paris Commune, Varlet was very active in the affairs of his section, the Droits de L'Homme, and in 1793 led the sporadic campaign to assert the rival authority of a federation of the most "enragé" Sections against the Convention itself, based, generally, on delegate meetings held at the Evéché palace, in the shadow of Nôtre Dame, on the Île de la Cité. In a host of pamphlets he elaborated a theme of "direct democracy", expressed in terms of perpetual revolutionary vigilance exercized by the "people" over its delegated representatives. In service of this mystique of "permanent insurrection", Varlet played a part in most of the *grandes journées* of the Revolution from 1791 onward. He was arrested in the reaction which followed the massacre of the Champ de Mars in July 1791, for his part in the preceding campaign for the king's deposition. He was a member of the delegation which, on 20 June 1792 led 20,000 "sans-culottes" from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to petition the Legislative Assembly against the royal Veto, to seize the Tuileries, and finally to force on Louis the cap of liberty. It was Varlet's petition for the king's dethronement, laid on the altar of the fatherland on the Champ de Mars, which helped to inspire the Fédérés on the eve of their assault on the

[1] Martin et Walter, *Catalogue de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française*, iv. 479.

Tuileries on 10 August. Varlet, more than any other single individual was behind the abortive Parisian rising of 9-10 March, 1793 ; he was president of the Central Revolutionary Committee elected by the Paris Sections to conduct the successful insurrection of 29 May.

Varlet's suspicion of representative assemblies extended to the Convention as well as to its predecessors, and he was inevitably out of sympathy with the Montagne. The postponement of elections under the 1793 Constitution until the peace, and the organization of the Revolutionary Government in September 1793 threw him into open conflict with Robespierre and the ruling party, and he was arrested on 18 September. Released in November he survived the Jacobin régime, only to be imprisoned a year later by the Thermidorian Convention for attempting, with Babeuf, to revive a democratic opposition in Paris. This time he was imprisoned for almost a year before his release in 1795.[1] His name figures among a series of lists of probable supporters seized by the police at the time of the Babeuf plot in May 1796,[2] but he was not arrested. With other potentially dangerous ex-revolutionaries he was exiled from Paris until June 1797, and his further political career seems to have been restricted to a brief period of activity in 1799,[3] when, as a result of a severe military crisis, the Jacobin spirit and the Jacobin club were temporarily revived. He was twice exiled from the capital by Bonaparte, once in 1799, after the Machine Infernale episode, and later, in 1813.[4] After the revolution of 1830, Varlet, now 72, re-emerged into history at Nantes where he published several slight pamphlets. Nothing is known of his career after 1832.[5]

Jean Théophile Victor Leclerc, the youngest of the Enragés is chiefly notable for his publication, like Roux, of a continuation of Marat's journal in 1793, entitled the *Ami du Peuple*. Born about 1770, at Montbrison, a small town on the Vizézy, about 60 kilometers from Lyons, he was the youngest of

[1] Archives Nationaux, Dossier $F^{7}4775^{40}$.

[2] *Copie des Pièces Saisies dans le Local que Babeuf occupait lors de son Arrestation* (Imprimerie Nationale, Nivôse, An V).

[3] Arch. Nat. $AF^{III}47$ Dossier 171 : *Moniteur*, 5 August 1799.

[4] Arch. Nat. $F^{7}6586$. (An Acknowledgment is due to R. C. Cobb for this reference).

[5] Martin et Walter, loc. cit.

the five children of Grégoire Leclerc, Ingénieur des Ponts et Chaussées. In March 1790 Leclerc sailed to join his elder brothers in Martinique, as a merchants' agent. In March 1791 he was imprisoned as a revolutionary agitator by the royalist Admiral Béhague, in the prison hulks, before being returned to France, two months later. After some time at Morbihan, in February 1792 Leclerc made his way to Paris with a company of troops sent home as unreliable by his old persecutor, and constituted himself their spokesman in revolutionary circles.[1] After a brief period of service as a secret agent in Baden, Leclerc spent the winter of 1792 at Montbrison before joining, in February 1793, the Headquarters of the Army of the Alps at Lyons. At Lyons he found himself plunged into the middle of a bitter social and political war, and in March returned to Paris as emissary of the ultra-revolutionary faction, to bring to the Enragé movement there the fierce hatreds and terrorist impulses of the Lyons struggle which surpassed in intensity and bitterness that of any other town of France. Apart from his part in the rising of May 1793 when he helped to seize the Bureau des Postes, Leclerc did not figure largely in the politics of the capital, although he incurred the personal condemnation of Robespierre for his premature insistence on violence. Nevertheless, in the *Ami du Peuple*, he joined the Enragé attack on the Revolutionary Government and the postponement of the Constitution of 1793. About the same time as Varlet's arrest he was forced to suspend publication, and later found it prudent to leave Paris altogether for service against the Vendéean rebels. Even this did not save him from arrest at the time of the purge of the Hébertists, in April 1794, together with his wife, Pauline Léon, and Claire Lacombe, the women Enragé leaders. Released from prison after Thermidor Leclerc rejoined his regiment, apparently finally, for he is not heard of again in Paris.

Pauline Léon and Claire Lacombe were the organizers of the militant Société des Femmes Républicaines Révolutionnaires, a Paris women's club which fought for the right for women to play an immediate and practical part in revolutionary politics. It was

[1] *Discours de M. Le Clerc-Doze* (Paris, 1792). This seems to be a variant of Leclerc D'Oze, a form which Leclerc later dropped.

not however a purely feminist organization, and in the summer of 1793 seconded closely the campaign of the Enragés, although without any distinctive individual contribution to that campaign.

Léon, the daughter of Pierre Paul Léon, a chocolate maker (*chocolatier*), was born at Paris in 1768, and on her father's death continued the business. Although she claimed to have helped to build the barricades in 1789, it was in 1791 that she first became active as a revolutionary leader. In February of that year she led a party of women rioters to sack the house at which the Abbé Royou, editor of the *Ami du Roi* was lodging. Like Varlet, Léon was a member of the Cordeliers Club, and of the Société Fraternelle des Deux Sexes, but as early as March 1791 she appears to have organized a separate club of more than 300 women followers, whom she demanded to be allowed to arm and drill.[1] In May 1793, in concert with Lacombe she formed the Républicaines Révolutionnaires, but appears subsequently to have yielded first place in the club to her co-operator. In November 1793 she married Leclerc, and afterwards shared his arrest and liberation.

Claire Lacombe, an actress, was born in 1765 at Pamiers, a small town on the Ariège, near the Spanish frontier, the daughter of Bertrand Lacombe. Of her family circumstances and early career we know nothing. By 1790, however, she had become, at twenty-five, a popular and successful actress in the provinces, and as such was remembered by a German traveller in the part of Semiramiris, at Lyons. She was living at Marseilles in July 1791, and was soon afterwards at Toulon, which city she left for Paris at the end of March, 1792. There can be no doubt as to Claire Lacombe's professional ability, for, in 1797, despite prison privations under the terror, she was able to command as much as 5,000 livres in specie for a year's contract at the Grand Théatre de la République (formerly and subsequently the Odéon.)[2] On her arrival in Paris, however, she seems to have decided to give all her energies to politics. She helped in propagandizing the Fédérés in preparation for the journée of

[1] P. Léon, *Adresse individuelle par des Citoyennes de la Patrie* (Imprimerie Nationale, 1791) (Ryl. F.H.T.); another copy published by the "Société Fraternelle Séante aux Minimes", in February 1792 (Ryl. F.H.T.).

[2] Sequestrated papers, Arch. Nat. T 100^{1-3}.

10 August. With Pauline Léon she organized armed demonstrations of the Républicaines in the streets and at the doors of the Convention during the crisis which preceded the insurrection of 29 May 1793, and during the insurrection itself. Contemporaries regarded the Républicaines as a serious force to be reckoned with, and even as a possible danger to the security of the Convention. When, in the autumn of 1793, their leaders began to join the other Enragés in demanding the introduction of the Constitution of 1793, the Montagnard government forced the women's club to close. Claire Lacombe herself was arrested in April 1794, for alleged complicity in the Hébertist putsch. She remained in prison until August 1795, and on her release left Paris to return to the stage at Nantes. From 1797 to 1798 she was again in Paris, at the Odéon, and subsequently seems to have found herself without a job.[1] According to one early biographer she was later to be employed by Fouché as a police spy; certainly she played no further important rôle in politics.

The Enragés were essentially political activists. Yet two of them, at least, might be expected to have formed some kind of consistent social doctrine: Roux, the priest, and Varlet, the young intellectual, fresh from the Collège d'Harcourt.

It is curious to find Roux's views on property more orthodox than those of the pro-Girondin Abbé Fauchet. It is true that at the time of the agrarian troubles in his parish in 1790, the royal officer charged with investigations reported that Roux was "généralement accusé d'avoir presché la doctrine dangéreuse qui annonçait que les terres appartenaint (sic) à tous également, qu'on ne devait plus se sousmettre au payement d'aucuns droits seigneuriaux",[2] but too much importance ought not to be given to a single item of hearsay evidence, for in two tracts published the same year Roux expressed the most moderate convictions on property and the social question. The subversive force of the *Triomphe des Braves Parisiens*[3] is limited to a hope that the age of gold is about to be reborn, in which the twin extremes of opulence and poverty will no longer exist, and to the vague demand "qu'un

[1] Arch. Nat. T 1001[1-3]; Dossier F[7]4576. [2] Arch. Nat. Dossier F[7]3664.

[3] *Le triomphe des Braves Parisiens sur les Ennemis du Bien Public* (Paris, 1790) (Ryl. F.H.T.).

système d'inégalité fondé sur les préjugés, les opinions et la mauvaise foi, soit délaissé tout à coup ". The other pamphlet, *L'Apôtre Martyr de La Révolution*[1] contains as prologue a project for a Declaration of the Rights of Man, article xvii of which states that " Les propriétés étant un droit inviolable et sacré, nul ne peut en être privé, si ce n'est lorsque la nécessité publique légalement constatée l'exige évidemment, et sous condition d'une juste et préalable indemnité ". Such an attitude to property reflects nothing more than commonplace moderate liberal thought of the period. Indeed, it is almost identical with the formula of Louis XVIII's *Charte Civile*, published in 1814.[2] There is little reason to believe that, at least in 1790, Roux's views were any more " advanced " than the fragment of verse which he chose to head the draft Declaration.

" Les mortels sont égaux ; ce n'est pas leur naissance
C'est la seule Vertu qui fait leur différence.
La loi, dans tout état, doit être universelle,
Les mortels, quels qu'ils soient, sont égaux devant elle."

Though we lack any similar statement of doctrine for later years it is apparent that Roux believed then, like Fauchet, in the natural right of man to subsistence. On one occasion in 1793 he spoke to the Convention of " Les denrées de première nécessité-et les subsistances auxquelles les hommes ont un droit légal du moment où ils voient le jour ".[3] On another he wrote of " Les productions de la terre " which " comme les éléments, apartiennent à tous les hommes ".[4]

Of the Enragés, Varlet was responsible for the most sustained and serious attempt to frame a social doctrine. The foundation of his system was the Social Contract of Rousseau, a revered oracle. " La politique des prêtres, des grands, des financiers ", he wrote in 1792, " fut de vous tenir à l'ombre de l'ignorance . . . Rousseau a paru, les principes, les lumières prévalent ".[5] The

[1] *L'Apotre Martyr de la Révolution* (Paris, 1790).

[2] " Inviolabilité de toutes les propriétés. . . . L'état ne peut exproprier que pour cause d'utilité publique, légalement constaté, et avec une indemnité préalable ", Dareste, *Histoire de la Restauration* (Paris, 1880), i. 32.

[3] *Moniteur*, 11 March 1793. [4] *Publiciste*, 28 July 1793.

[5] *Plan d'Une Nouvelle Organisation de la Société Mère des Amis de la Liberté ; suivie de la Réligion de la Philosophie* (Paris, 1792).

occasion of the first important essay was the election of the Convention in the Autumn of 1792. " Quand vous dresseriez les articles du Contrat Social ", Varlet advised the deputies, in his own plan for the regeneration of France, " vous vous imagineriez organiser une communauté oú chacun ne doit receuillir qu'à proportion de la part qu'il a mise". . . . " Vous cimenteriez le pacte social par des institutions bienfaisantes. Les signes auxquels nous voulons les reconnaître sont l'extirpation de la mendicité, la disparition de la trop grande inégalité des fortunes, la régénération des moeurs, la propagation des lumières, le concours unanime des citoyens aux charges, aux avantages de la société." [1] " Le Contrat Social ", he wrote in a second pamphlet published about the same time, " doit spécialement appliquer à défendre l'homme faible de l'homme puissant " . . . " Le droit de possession territoriale a des limites dans la société ; sa latitude doit être telle que l'industrie commerciale ou agricole n'en reçoive aucune atteinte. Dans tous les états les indigens forment la majorité ; et comme leur liberté, leur sûreté, leurs conservations individuelles sont des biens antérieurs à tous, leur volonté la plus naturelle, leur droit le plus constant, est de se préserver de l'oppression des riches, en limitant l'ambition d'acquérir, et rompant, par des moyens justes, la disproportion énorme des fortunes." [2]

In a few brief passages of the *Ami du Peuple* Leclerc united Roux's insistence on the natural right to subsistence with Varlet's view of the nature of the social contract. " Tous les hommes " he argued, " ont un droit égal aux subsistances et à toutes les productions de la terre qui leur sont d'une indispensable nécessité pour assurer leur existence ".[3] " En apportant à la société cette portion de force et de l'industrie qu'il eut employé dans l'état de nature à assurer son existence ", he wrote, of a man entering into the social contract, " peut il perdre le droit naturel et indispensable de pouvoir à ses besoins ? " [4]

Perhaps the most original contribution of the Enragés to socialist theory was the argument that the Revolution was a class

[1] *Projet d'un Mandat Spécial et Impératif aux Mandataires du Peuple* (Imprimerie du Cercle Social, Paris, 1792).

[2] *Déclaration Solenelle des Droits de L'Homme dans l'Etat Social* (Paris, 1792).

[3] *Ami du Peuple*, 10 August 1793. [4] Ibid. 20 July 1793.

struggle in which the bourgeoisie, and not, as was generally supposed, the " nation " had worsted the aristocracy and achieved supreme power. " Ce sont les riches qui, depuis quatre ans ont profité de la Révolution ", Roux wrote in June 1793, " c'est l'aristocratie marchande, plus terrible que l'aristocratie nobiliaire qui nous opprime ". . . . " Les lois ont été cruelles à l'égard du pauvre, parce qu'elles n'ont été faites que par les riches et pour les riches." [1] " On rétablit l'aristocratie des riches, qui est plus terrible que le sceptre des rois ",[2] the *Publiciste* echoed later in the year, " jusqu'à présent la Révolution n'a été favourable qu'à une classe d'hommes qui a opprimé l'autre a l'ombre de la loi ".[3] In similar vein Varlet had written, at the beginning of March warning that " L'aristocratie de fortune veut s'élever sur les ruines de l'aristocratie nobiliaire . . . la constitution que l'on veut nous donner est un enfant qu'il faut étouffer dans son berceau. Elle est tout en faveur du riche contre le peuple." [4] He was later to draw a line, for the purposes of revolutionary action between " le boutiquier, l'aristocrate, et l'artisane " and to advocate the disarming of the first two classes.[5] The class-struggle thesis appears in its most developed form, however, in the pages of Leclerc's *Ami du Peuple*. " A l'aristocratie nobiliaire " the journalist wrote in his second number, " a succédé l'aristocratie bourgeoise et mercantile ; cette classe, qui formait en quelque sorte une caste intermédiaire entre la première et le peuple, avait acquis, grâce à ses richesses autant de besoins et par conséquent autant de vices que la classe supérieure. Elle vit dans le principe d'un assez bon oeil une révolution qui la faisait aller de pair avec elle. Mais quand le peuple, fort de sa puissance, de son courage, éclairé sur ses droits, réclama ceux de l'égalité, et fonda la République, alors ces hommes devinrent ses plus cruels ennemis."

[1] J. Roux, *Adresse à la Convention* (Paris, 1793).

[2] *Publiciste*, 6 August 1793.

[3] Ibid. no. 266 (undated).

[4] *Tableau de la Situation Politique de Paris, en Réponse aux Calomnies de Roland*, circulated on 8 March and quoted by *Mercure Français*, no. 68, 9 March. Attribution to Varlet is based on circumstantial evidence.

[5] *Correspondence Politique*, 24 June 1793, reporting a session of the Cordeliers Club.

It was partly the prevalence of such language which prompted Michelet to write, in the preface to his 1868 history of the revolution, that "Au coeur de Paris même, dans les noires et profondes rues ouvrières (les Arcis, Saint Martin), fermentait le Socialisme, une révolution sur la révolution". It is tempting—and it must have been tempting to Marx—to regard this aspect of the Enragé doctrine as an anticipation of the Communist Manifesto. In reality contemporary class relationships were far more complex, and much less clearly defined than a few such selected quotations might seem to indicate. The class to which Enragé propaganda made its greatest appeal, and which provided the political strength of the Enragé movement was not a proletariat of wage labourers, but the "sans-culottes" consisting predominantly of small masters and their journeymen and apprentices. An analysis of a survey made in 1791 [1] reveals that the average proportion of employees to employers in Paris was 16·6 to one. In the Faubourg Saint-Denis the largest concern in Paris, a textile firm, employed 800 workers. In the Ponceau Section two other textile firms employed 500 and 415 workers respectively. Such figures, and similar returns of large building firms are exceptional, however. More typical are the statistics of the Quinze Vingts Section, where forty-five out of fifty-six cabinetmakers and joiners employed less than ten men, and twenty-three of them employed less than four. G. Rudé has shown how, by industrial action and political pressure, the Paris wage-earners managed to maintain, if not to improve their standard of life between 1789 and 1793.[2] The same was not true of the petit-bourgeois and artisan strata. The collapse of the assignat, under the strain of war scarcities and continual inflation, threatened them with ruin as prices rose and savings and small vested incomes lost their value. "Comment viveront les petits rentiers?" Roux demanded of the Convention in June 1793, "ceux qui ont 2, 3, 4, 600 livres de rentes, mal payées encore, ou une pension viagère sur les caisses publiques?" [3]

[1] Braesch, "Essai de Statistique de la Population Ouvrière de Paris", *La Révolution Française*, v. 63, p. 289.

[2] G. Rudé, "Prices, Wages, and Popular Movements in Paris during the French Revolution", *Ec. Hist. Rev.* (1953-4), p. 246.

[3] *Adresse à la Convention.*

To this class, and to the Enragés, the villains of the piece were the " agioteurs ", or money-speculators, who profited from the situation and helped to aggravate it by their manoeuvres. In June 1793 the Paris Departmental Committee of Public Safety received a report on a group of eight such speculators, allegedly controlling between them the large sum of 3,600,000 livres.[1] At the beginning of August representatives of the Halle au Bled Section confiscated 153,447 livres in specie which they had discovered hidden in a coach belonging to another agioteur.[2] An allied target for popular and Enragé hatred was the " accapareur ", the " cornerer " of scarce supplies of food and raw materials. In no. 269 of the *Publiciste* Roux alleged that one such speculator, Perrain, had made more than 250,000 livres in a month by furnishing cotton for military supplies, on a government contract. Of such origins were the " fortunes rapides et insolentes, ouvrage de l'intrigue et de l'avidité " flailed by Prudhomme in the *Révolutions de Paris*. Protests against the activities of the " cornerers " were frequent. On 6 February 1793, for example, a deputation of journeymen tinsmiths indicted before the Convention " Citoyen Bois, entrepreneur pour le service des armes, d'avoir accaparé toutes les matières de manière que les autres entrepreneurs n'en ont pas, et qu'ils ne peuvent, en conséquence, faire travailler les ouvriers ".[3] Similarly, on 6 April, a deputation of shoemakers (cordonniers) complained that, as a result of the sudden rise in the price of leather, bought up by speculators, they were unable to supply boots contracted for by the Government.[4] A year later Charlier remarked bitterly to the Jacobin club, of a similar crisis, " les cuirs ne manquent pas, mais ils sont accaparés par les gros tanneurs qui empêchent par là les petits tanneurs de travailler pour la République ".[5] The protest, by petition and riot, against the machinations of the food " cornerer ", a perennial of Sans-culotte politics of the period, forms a large part of the subject of Mathiez' *La Vie Chère*, already mentioned.

The heart of the Enragé agitation consisted of a sustained attack on the two classes of speculators. The note was sounded

[1] H. Calvet, *Un Instrument de la Terreur à Paris* (Paris, 1941), p. 232.
[2] *Chronique de Paris*, No. 139, 7 August 1793.
[3] Jaurès, *Histoire Socialiste*, iv. 1028. [4] Ibid. p. 1050.
[5] *Moniteur*, 7 March 1794.

by Roux in a sermon preached at St. Nicholas' in May 1792, repeated at numerous public meetings and published as a tract. " Demandez que la peine de mort soit prononcée contre les accapareurs de comestibles ", he told his hearers, " contre ceux qui, par le commerce de l'argent, par la fabrication des pièces de monnaie au dessous de leur valeur naturelle discréditent nos assignats, portèrent nos denrées à un prix excessif, et nous font arriver à grands pas au port de la contre-révolution ".[1] In another address, delivered to the Observatoire Section in October, the revolutionary priest elaborated his theme : " Il y a de lâcheté ", he protested, " à tolérer ceux qui s'approprient les produits de la terre et de l'industrie, qui entassent dans les greniers de l'avarice les denrées de première nécessité et qui soumettent à des calculs usuraires les larmes et l'appauvrissement du peuple . . . tous ceux, qui, par la commerce de l'argent discréditent nos assignats et portent les denrées à un prix excessif ".[2] Varlet conducted a parallel campaign by petition and tract. " Des financiers endurcis au crime ", he wrote, in June 1792, " spéculeraient l'usure la plus scandaleuse sur la misère publique ".[3] On 6 August he demanded of the Convention " des lois sévères contre toutes espèces d'accaparement ; l'usure, le monopole sont des assassinats moraux que doivent trouver leur place dans le code pénal ".[4] The ideal constitution must contain laws to forbid that " par l'agiotage, le monopole, l'accaparement, les fortunes particulières se grossissent au dépens de la fortune publique ".[5]

Similar phrases recur, almost ad nauseam, in the Enragé oratory and writings of 1793, without sufficient variation to merit further reproduction. They indicate, certainly, a considered revulsion from speculation and a hatred of speculators ; but it would be wrong to interpret them as an attack on capitalism and capitalists. Both Roux and Varlet took the trouble to excuse themselves from any such possible imputation. " Lorsque je me déchaîne contre les accapareurs et les agioteurs ", Roux

[1] *Discours sur les Moyens de Sauver la France et la Liberté* (Paris, 1792).

[2] *Discours Prononcé dans l'Assemblée Générale de la Section de l'Observatoire* (Paris, 1792).

[3] *Plan d'une Nouvelle Organisation . . .*

[4] *Voeux formés par des Français libres* (Paris, 1792).

[5] *Mandat Spécial et Impératif . . .*

explained in June 1793, " je suis bien éloigné de comprendre dans cette classe infâme un grand nombre d'épiciers et de marchands qui se sont rendus recommendables par leur civisme et par leur humanité ".[1] " On n'entend point içi ", Varlet wrote in similar fashion, " des grandes propriétés acquises par de belles spéculations, ou des entreprises hardies, ni gêner en rien nos rapports commerciaux avec l'étranger ". One of the basic principles of the social contract must be " l'émulation, l'encouragement accordés aux talents dirigés vers l'utilité commune ".[2]

The difficulties into which the Enragés were led by the niceties of the distinction between legitimate and criminal speculation were not allowed to escape comment. " Il faut enfin démasquer ces faux patriotes qui agitent perpetuellement par ces mots d'accaparement et d'agiotage ; qu'ils ne définissent jamais ", Ducos wrote in the *Chronique de Paris*.[3] Hébert, chief figure of the Commune and editor of the *Père Duchesne*, affected to regard the Enragé campaign as misdirected diversionary activity. " Mais ces accapareurs, où sont ils ? est-ce à Paris ? " he demanded. " Non, foutre, mais dans les grandes villes de commerce. C'est là, foutre, qu'il faut aller les chercher, et non pas à Paris, où il n'existe que les détaillants. Les millionaires de Bordeaux et de Marseille se foutent bien que l'on pille un de leurs bateaux sur la Seine, quand leurs magasins et leurs vaisseaux regorgent de marchandises." [4] Although Hébert cannot be classed as a disinterested critic, the practical programme of the Enragés does seem to have been based on political reflex rather than political reflection. " Peuple, tu souffres la misère au milieu des biens qui t'avoisinent ", Leclerc told the Jacobin Club in May 1793, " Citoyens, on vous dit libres, et vous êtes esclaves de la misère . . . sachez que vous ne ferez pas de la révolution sans répandre de sang ".[5] " Elle n'est pas éloignée ", echoed Roux, " l'époque où les fripons regorgeront de ce qu'ils ont volé à la classe laborieuse et utile à la société ".[6] " On aurait dû confisquer au profit de la République les fortunes immenses des égoïstes qui, depuis quatre ans ont entassé trésors

[1] *Adresse à la Convention.*
[2] *Mandat Spécial et Impératif . . .*
[3] 1 July 1793.
[4] No. 252.
[5] Buchex et Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire*, a. 27, v. 17.
[6] *Publiciste*, 20 July 1793.

sur trésors. . . . Il faut leur ôter la faculté d'acquérir des propriétés et des immeubles. Il faut qu'ils meurent de faim et de soif au milieu de leurs trésors comme Tantale au milieu des eaux qui ne peut boire." [1] Violence of expression was simply a screen for lack of policy, however, for the nearest the Enragés approached to any plan for an ordered redistribution was the clause of a draft Declaration of Rights by Varlet which laid down that " Les biens amassés au dépens de la fortune publique, par le vol, l'agiotage, le monopole, l'accaparement, deviennent des propriétés nationales à l'instant où la société acquiert par des faits constans la preuve de concussion ".[2]

Such language was a great deal less specific than that of the Deputy Carra, who, as a preliminary to the confiscation of large fortunes accumulated since 1740, proposed in February 1793 a law to force all former officials concerned with financial administration, and all bankers and their agents or their heirs to give an account of their wealth.[3]

There were, however, some positive elements in the Enragé programme. As early as May 1792 Jacques Roux pressed for state purchase and distribution of grain; in June 1793 he demanded of the Convention pensions for the dependents of Revolutionary Volunteers, and a fixed national maximum price for bread. In September 1793 Leclerc advocated in the *Ami du Peuple* the extension of price control to all essential commodities. But all these cries were old politics when the Enragés took them up, and there were many revolutionaries unattached to the group working more effectively for the same measures.

At its best the Enragé philosophy was an application of the social doctrines of the Cercle Social to practical politics; at its worst it was a blind, if sometimes, righteous, fury against the speculators and their protectors in the Assemblies. At either extreme it was very far from Communism, however defined.

A direct connection between the Cercle Social, the Enragés, and Babeuf, such as that implied by Marx, would be difficult to establish, although we have seen that Varlet, one of whose pamphlets was published by the Cercle Social press, was an

[1] *Publiciste*, 28 July 1793. [2] *Déclaration Solenelle des Droits . . .*
[3] Jaurès, *Histoire Socialiste*, iv. 1050.

associate of Babeuf. It is not necessary, however, to postulate the services of the Enragés as intermediaries between the Utopian Communism of the eighteenth century, and the revolutionary Communism of the Babeuf plot. At the head of Babeuf's famous *Manifeste des Egaux* of 1796 there stands a passage from Condorcet extolling " Egalité de fait, dernier but de l'art social ". As early as 1791 Babeuf had exclaimed in favour of " cette loi agraire, cette loi que redoutent et que sentent venir les riches ". On his arrest at that time, among his effects was found Dolivier's *Essai sur la Justice Primitive*, a contemporary advocacy of rural Communism by a parish priest. To Babeuf as to Bishop Fauchet the heart of the social question was the inequality of property in land ; with this problem the Enragés were concerned not at all. If a historical link between the two men is to be sought, it might perhaps more plausibly be discovered in the works of two of Robespierre's lieutenants on the Committee of Public Safety, Saint-Just and Billaud-Varennes, both of whom wrote to advocate the restriction of land holdings to a maximum size,[1] and in the Ventôse Laws, framed by Saint-Just in 1794, and intended to regulate the redistribution of the property of 100,000 suspects among propertyless " patriots ".

[1] L. A. Saint-Just, *Fragments d'Institutions Républicaines* (posthumous, Paris, 1800) ; J. N. Billaud-Varennes, *Les Elémens du Républicanisme*, 1793.

THE BOOK OF JOB AND ITS MEANING [1]

By H. H. ROWLEY, M.A., D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A.
PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THAT the book of Job is the supreme literary masterpiece in the Old Testament and one of the greatest creations of the world's literature is generally agreed.[2] An American Jewish scholar says: "Of the masterpieces which time has handed down, of the Biblical books in especial, it is the one which in every age is felt to be most modern." [3] Yet the most extraordinary

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 12th of February 1958. The following abbreviations are used in the notes below: *A.J.S.L.*= *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *A.T.O.T.*= H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament*; *A.T.R.*= *Anglican Theological Review*; *B.A.S.O.R.*= *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *D.B.*= Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*; *E.B.*= *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; *E.T.*= *Expository Times*; *F.u.F.*= *Forschungen und Fortschritte*; *H.T.R.*= *Harvard Theological Review*; *I.B.*= *Interpreter's Bible*; *J.B.L.*= *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.C.S.*= *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; *J.E.*= *Jewish Encyclopedia*; *J.E.O.L.*= *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*; *J.R.*= *Journal of Religion*; *K.A.R.*= E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*; *K.A.T.*= Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd edn., ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler); *M.V.A.G.*= *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; *O.T.M.S.*= H. H. Rowley (ed. by), *The Old Testament and Modern Study*; *O.T.S.*= *Oudtestamentische Studiën*; *P.E.F.Q.S.*= *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*; *P.G.*= Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*; *P.S.B.A.*= *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; *R.B.*= *Revue Biblique*; *R.G.G.*= *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; *R.H.P.R.*= *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*; *R.H.R.*= *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *S.A.T.*= *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*; *S.D.B.*= Pirot's *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible*; *T.S.K.*= *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*; *Th.R.*= *Theologische Rundschau*; *V.T.*= *Vetus Testamentum*; *V.T. Supplements*= *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*; *Z.A.W.*= *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.D.M.G.*= *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

[2] Carlyle's words are often quoted: "one of the grandest things ever written with pen. . . . There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit" (*On Heroes*, Lecture 2, The New Universal Library edition, p. 67). Cf. also J. A. Froude, *The Book of Job*, 1854, p. 3: "Towering up alone, far away above all the poetry of the world." C. F. Kent (*The Growth and Contents of the O.T.*, 1926, p. 285) calls it "The Matterhorn of the Old Testament".

[3] Cf. M. Buttenwieser, *The Book of Job*, 1922, p. 3. Similarly T. H. Robinson, *Job and his Friends*, 1954, p. 124. Cf. also P. Humbert, *V.T. Supplements*, iii (Rowley Festschrift), 1955, 150 ff.

variety of view continues to be held about this book, and its many problems have found no agreed solution.[1] In the present lecture I have no intention to add to their number, or to review all the opinions that have been held. It is my purpose rather to make clear the nature of the critical problems that arise and to indicate which of the many solutions seems to me most likely to be right, and then to state my view of the significance of the book.

Much ink has been wasted in discussing the precise literary category into which it falls, and whether it is epic or drama.[2] It has been compared with the work of Homer,[3] or with the creations of the Greek dramatists,[4] Aeschylus,[5] Sophocles,[6] and Euripides,[7] or with the Dialogues of Plato.[8] In truth it is not to be classed with any of these. In the words of A. S. Peake " it is

[1] For a full review of recent literature on Job, cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.R.*, N.F., xxi (1953), 163 ff., 257 ff.

[2] Theodore Beza (*Job Expounded*, 1589 ?, Preface, pp. 3 ff.) regarded the book as a tragedy.

[3] Cf. J. Neyrand, *Etudes*, clxxiii (1922), 124 ff. W. M. L. de Wette cites some older writers who compared Job with the Homeric epics (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, Eng. trans. by T. Parker, ii (1843), 556 n.), but adds that this is altogether absurd. The works referred to are J. H. Stuss, *De Epopoeia Iobaea*, 1753 ; A. H. H. Lichtenstein, *Num liber Jobi cum Odyssea Homeri comparari possit ?* 1773 ; C. D. Ilgen, *Iobi antiquissimi carminis hebraici natura atque virtutes*, 1789, and J. C. W. Augusti, *Grundriss einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung in's A.T.*, 1827, pp. 264, 266.

[4] Theodore of Mopsuestia held that it was modelled on the Greek dramas. Cf. the condemnation of his views by the Council of Constantinople, in Migne, *P.G.* lxvi (1864), 697 f.

[5] Cf. M. Jastrow, *The Book of Job*, 1920, pp. 185 ff. ; J. J. Slotki, *E.T.* xxxix (1927-8), 131 ff. ; J. Lindblom, in *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ, Martino P. Nilsson dedicatum* (1939), pp. 280 ff. ; H. G. May, *A.T.R.* xxxiv (1952), 240 ff.

[6] Cf. R. Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Eng. trans. by G. Gregory, 1847, pp. 372 ff., esp. p. 380 for the rejection of this view.

[7] Cf. H. M. Kallen, *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy Restored*, 1918. For the severe review of this book by C. G. Montefiore, cf. *H.T.R.* xii (1919), 219 ff.

[8] Cf. K. Fries, *Das philosophische Gespräch von Hiob bis Plato*, 1904 ; O. Holtzmann, in B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1888), 351. G. B. Gray (in Driver-Gray, *The Book of Job*, 1921, p. xxiv) says : " Between the dialogue of Job, consisting exclusively of long set speeches in poetical form, and the prose dialogues of Plato, with their closely knit analytical argument carried on by means of much quickly responsive conversation, the difference is so great that the probability that the Hebrew writer was influenced by those Greek literary models is so slight as to be negligible."

itself ".[1] The genius of the author gave it its unique literary form as the means of expressing his profound message.

Before that message can be understood, however, it is necessary to examine the contents of the book, and to decide how far they derive from the author, or how far they existed before his time or have been added later. The general outline of the book is familiar. There is first of all a prose Prologue, in which Job is presented as a man of piety and of utter integrity of character, as well as a man of great prosperity. His piety is maliciously represented by the Satan as mere self-interest, an investment that yields high dividends in his prosperity. Permission is given by God to put him to the test, and by a series of swift blows he is bereft of his family and his possessions, but without forfeiting his integrity of character. When God twits the Satan with his discomfiture, his cynicism rises to the occasion and he is given permission to carry the test further and smite the person of Job himself. With a zest which might have graced a better cause,[2] he struck Job with a phenomenal and painful disease, which medical men have tried to identify by the varied symptoms which are mentioned in the course of the book.[3] It is commonly, though not universally, identified as some form of elephantiasis.[4]

[1] Cf. *Job* (Century Bible), p. 45. R. H. Pfeiffer (*Introduction to the O.T.*, 1941, p. 684) well observes: "All general classifications fail to do justice to the overflowing abundance of its forms, moods, and thoughts: it is not exclusively lyric, nor epic, nor dramatic, nor didactic or reflective, unless the poem is cut down to fit a particular category. Even the more comprehensive characterizations, such as that of Friedr. Delitzsch (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1902, p. 15), 'a poem with dramatic movement and essential didactic tendency', or better still that of J. G. von Herder (*Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, i, 148), 'an epopee of mankind, a theodicy of God', fail to do justice to the scope of the work."

[2] J. F. Genung, *The Hebrew Literature of Wisdom in the Light of To-day*, 1906, p. 174, says: "He does indeed handle Job with exceeding severity; not, however, so much in the spirit which delights in unmotived cruelty, as in the spirit of vivisection for scientific purposes."

[3] Cf. ii. 7 (inflamed eruptions), ii. 8 (violent itching), ii. 12 (shocking change of appearance), vii. 5 (maggots in the ulcers; on this verse cf. G. R. Driver, in *V.T. Supplements* iii (Rowley Festschrift), 1955, 73), vii. 14 (terrifying dreams), xvi. 16 (weeping eyes and loss of sight), xix. 17 (bad breath), xix. 20 (emaciation), xxx. 17 (erosion of the bones), xxx. 30 (blackening and falling off of the skin).

[4] Cf. the long dissertation on Job's disease which stands in the introduction to the commentary of A. Calmet (*Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'A et du N.T.*, iii (1724), 608-13). Job's malady is usually identified with "black leprosy"

In fact, it is as futile to try to give a scientific name to the disease as it is to linger over the theological problem of the presence of the Satan at the court of God. The author is merely setting the stage, and in his thought the disease of Job is the most terrible he can conceive.[1] Yet even this Job accepts with patience.

Then three friends arrive from afar to comfort him. Again it is useless to speculate how they had heard in their widely separated habitations of Job's affliction, or how they had contrived to arrive together. The artistry of the author was not concerned with such trivialities. For several days the friends sit beside Job, offering him no more than silent sympathy. Then Job breaks into a soliloquy, in which he bemoans his lot and laments that he was ever born. Each of the friends then speaks in turn, reproaching him with steadily increasing sharpness, and being answered one by one by Job. This is followed by a second cycle of speeches, and then by a third, which breaks down, however, before it reaches its end. All of these speeches are in superb poetry. Sometimes the friends reproach Job for the wild things he says in his distress, and Job bitingly replies that it is easy for the spectator to maintain his calm. But behind their speeches is the assumption that Job had brought his troubles on himself by some concealed wickedness, while Job repudiates such an idea with increasing passion. It is not that Job claims to

or tubercular leprosy. But E. Robin (in Pirot-Clamer, *La Sainte Bible*, iv (1949), 720) has some doubt about this, and Driver and Gray observe (op. cit. p. 24): "elephantiasis develops slowly . . .; but the narrative almost certainly intends us to understand that Job was immediately smitten with intensely painful and loathsome symptoms, attacking every part of his body". As C. J. Ball (*The Book of Job*, 1922, p. 114) says: "There seems no reason why, if leprosy were meant, a popular story, which makes no pretence to poetical diction, should have preferred to describe this well-known scourge of the East by an ambiguous expression, instead of using the ordinary word." Dr. A. Macalister (in Hastings's *D.B.* iii (1900), 329 f.) identifies it with the Oriental sore, or Biskra button, while E. W. G. Masterman (*P.E.F.Q.S.* 1 (1918), 168) thinks this highly improbable and suggests that it was most probably "a very extensive erythema". Amongst other suggestions we may note that of G. N. Münch (*Die Zaraath* (*Lepra*) *der hebräischen Bibel* (Dermatologische Studien, No. 16), 1893, p. 143), that Job's complaint was chronic eczema. S. Terrien (*I.B.* iii (1954), 920) says a case might be made for the skin disorder known as *pemphicus foliaceus*.

[1] Cf. Driver and Gray, op. cit. pp. 24 f.: "the writer may or may not have had a single disease in mind throughout."

have been perfect ; what he maintains is that he has not been so heinous a sinner as to deserve such an unparalleled misfortune. The friends maintain the righteousness of God and recommend Job to repent of his sin and submit himself to God, when there may be hope of restoration for him. Stung by their reproaches he impugns the righteousness of God, but shares with the friends the thought that merit and fortune ought to be matched. At the same time he appeals to God to vindicate him before it is too late. He thus directs his appeal to God's better self, and turns from the God of his present experience to the God he has hitherto known. For both Job and his friends are persuaded that his misfortunes come from God.

Next we have chapter xxviii, a magnificent poem on the elusiveness of wisdom, which man despite all his achievements can never find for himself, leading up to the declaration that God alone knows where it is to be found, and that in reverence towards Him and obedience to His will man may attain it.

Following this we have Job's final soliloquy, in which he appeals again to God to answer him. Before this cry finds its response, however, a new person appears abruptly on the scene. This is Elihu, of whose appearance we are given no explanation. He makes four speeches one after the other, to none of which Job offers an answer, and then he vanishes from the scene as suddenly as he appeared. Now, however, God appears and answers Job in a speech from the whirlwind. He offers no explanation of Job's misfortunes, but parades before him in swift succession some of the wonders of creation which are beyond Job's understanding. At the end Job bows in humble submission before God and says he will complain no more. Yet barely has he opened his mouth when God breaks in and opens up on him again, this time mainly with two long descriptions of the monsters Behemoth and Leviathan. After Job has bowed in submission, this comes, as Peake observed, perilously near nagging.[1] Moreover, it must be confessed that this second divine speech does not equal in brilliance the first. When it is finished, Job resumes his speech of submission, and says : " I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear ; But now mine eye

[1] Cf. *Job* (Century Bible), p. 332.

seeth thee, Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."[1] This is the close of the poetical part of the book.

Finally we have a prose Epilogue, in which God condemns the three friends of Job and declares Job in the right. The friends are bidden to offer a sacrifice and to ask Job to pray for them; and when he prays for his friends, he is accepted by God. His long trial is over, and his fortunes are restored and he lives happily ever after.

We need not spend time discussing whether the book can be read as literal history. Some older writers supposed that every speech was a true transcript of the words used in the debate.[2] Luther, while acknowledging its broad historicity was not prepared to accept it in detail as exact history.[3] So early as the fourth century A.D., Theodore of Mopsuestia recognized the existence of Job, but regarded this book as a slanderous fiction which ought not to be in the sacred Canon.[4] Today the view is general that Job is the name of an ancient worthy, and that there was a historical person behind the book, but that the book as we

[1] Job xlii. 5 f.

[2] Cf. F. Spanheim, *Opera*, ii (1703), 1 ff.; A. Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, i, 1737, Preface, p. 33; J. H. Michaelis, *Adnotationes in Hagiog. V.T. libros*, ii (1720), 5 f.; B. Kennicott, *Remarks on Select Passages in the O.T.*, 1787, p. 153; S. Lee, *The Book of the Patriarch Job*, 1837, pp. 6 ff.

[3] Cf. the passage cited by E. W. Hengstenberg, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes with other Treatises*, Eng. trans. by D. W. Simon, 1860, p. 317. Hengstenberg goes beyond Luther and denies that Job ever existed. He says: "It was a great mistake when some, in order to do honour to the Scriptures, deemed themselves compelled to ascribe a purely historical character to this book" (pp. 316 f.). He adds: "If we regard him as an actual historical personage, we shift the boundary line separating the heathen world from the Church of God, and pronounce the redemptive means set up by God superfluous" (p. 317). C. F. Keil (*Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Schriften des A.Ts.*, 1873, pp. 383 f.) describes the book of Job as "eine mit poetischer Freiheit durchgeführte Bearbeitung einer alten Sage".

[4] Theodore was condemned in A.D. 553 for holding these views. Cf. Migne, *P.G.* lxvi (1864), 697 f. Already in the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Bathra, 15a) we find the view recorded that Job never lived and was never created, but was merely a parable (*māshāl*), and this view was adopted by Maimonides (cf. *Guide of the Perplexed*, III, xxii, Eng. trans. by M. Friedländer, iii (1885), 93). Cf. also Genesis Rabba, 57 end, where amongst the many Rabbinic speculations as to the period when Job lived, we find the view recorded that he never existed.

have it is the artistic creation of the author, who used the ancient figure of Job as the vehicle for his message.[1]

The first of the critical problems which confront us is that of the Elihu speeches. What part do they play in the plan of the book? Elihu appears, and speaks, and vanishes. No notice is taken of him by Job or by God, and in the Epilogue God commends Job and condemns Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, but completely ignores Elihu. The Elihu speeches could therefore be dropped from the book without being missed, and without affecting its structure. On the other hand, the Elihu speeches pre-suppose the rest of the book, and indeed often pick up arguments from the speeches that precede. This strongly suggests that they do not belong to the original book and that they have been added afterwards, either by the original author [2] or by another.[3]

[1] Cf. H. Rongy, *Revue Ecclésiastique de Liége*, xxv (1933), 171: "L'auteur génial de Job a pu emprunter son héros à la tradition; mais il n'a pas eu la naïveté de prendre pour réels ses beaux récits. Il les a imaginés et arrangés pour introduire son autre fiction du dialogue poétique."

[2] So A. Kamphausen, *T.S.K.* xxxvi (1863), 810, and in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, I, iii (1865), 494; A. Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob*, 1871, pp. xvii, lxxxvii; E. Sellin, *Das Problem des Hiobbuches*, 1919, p. 28; G. H. Box, *Judaism in the Greek Period*, 1932, p. 123; R. Gordis, *Judaism*, iv (1955), 206; H. Junker, *Das Buch Job* (Echter Bibel), 1951, p. 7. Cf. R. Cornely, *Introductionis Compendium*, i, 10th edn., rev. by A. Merk, 1929, pp. 467 f. J. Pedersen, *Israel I-II*, 1926, p. 531, says: "That the Elihu speeches do not form part of the original poem is probable for purely formal reasons; but as to their contents they fit so well into the general scheme that they are probably a rough draft made by the poet himself." On the other hand W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson (*Introduction to the Books of the O.T.*, 1934, p. 174) feel these speeches would have been repudiated by the original poet. So also A. Lods, *Introduction à la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, p. 677. E. König (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1929, p. 470) pronounces the view that these speeches were added by the author "eine unnatürliche Annahme".

[3] Some writers have analysed the Elihu speeches into the work of more than one hand. So Helen H. Nichols, *A.J.S.L.* xxvii (1910-11), 97 ff. (cf. G. A. Barton, *J.B.L.* xxx (1911), 68), and M. Jastrow, op. cit. pp. 77 ff. W. A. Irwin, *J.R.* xvii (1937), 36 ff., prefers Jastrow's analysis to that of Miss Nichols, and regards the Elihu speeches as a series of comments on the dialogue by a number of writers between 400 and 100 B.C. A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, p. 683, sharply rejects such views, saying: "C'est, nous semble-t-il, discréditer les méthodes de la critique que de statuer ainsi, comme à plaisir, et contre toute vraisemblance, une multitude d'auteurs ayant même style et exprimant des idées toutes voisines, et cela pour rendre compte de quelques vétilles de rédaction qui peuvent s'expliquer autrement."

This conclusion is reinforced by considerations of style. S. R. Driver characterized the style of the Elihu speeches as " prolix, laboured, and sometimes tautologous ", and noted that " the power and brilliancy which are so conspicuous in the poem generally are sensibly missing ".[1] Similarly Buttenwieser says the style here is " pompous and diffuse, with much empty repetition, in marked contrast to the Job dialogues, which are meaty, compact, and concise. Of the seventy-two verses which make up the interpolation, thirty, or almost half, are taken up with a tiresome and vainglorious introduction." [2]

While it is the widely held view that these speeches are a later interpolation,[3] a few scholars of distinction have not adopted it. Budde [4] and Cornill [5] both defended the authenticity of the Elihu speeches and maintained that in them we have the climax

[1] Cf. *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th edn., 1913, p. 429. With this compare the judgement of J. T. Marshall, *Job and his Comforters*, p. 6, where the Elihu speeches are said to be " on an immeasurably higher plane than the Dialogue ". For a careful study of the language and style of the Elihu speeches, cf. Driver-Gray, op. cit. pp. xli ff., and W. E. Staples, *The Speeches of Elihu* (University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series, No. 8), 1925, pp. 19 ff. J. Herz, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, iii (1953-4), 107 ff., finds the Elihu speeches to be distinct from the dialogue on stylistic grounds.

[2] Op. cit. p. 85.

[3] This view is found already in J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 3rd edn., iii (1803), 597 f., and W. M. L. de Wette, op. cit. pp. 558 ff. Amongst recent Roman Catholic authors who have followed this view are to be found A. van Hoonacker (*R.B.* xii (1903), 161 ff.), P. Dhorme (op. cit. pp. lxxvii ff.), J. Goettsberger (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1928, p. 227), E. J. Kissane (*The Book of Job*, 1939, p. xl), E. F. Sutcliffe (*A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1953, p. 418). It is also shared by so conservative a writer as E. König, op. cit. pp. 466 ff. N. H. Tur-Sinai (*The Book of Job*, 1957, pp. xxxviii f.) expresses the view that whereas most of the book was composed in Aramaic and translated into Hebrew, the Elihu speeches were composed in Hebrew by a disciple of Ezekiel.

[4] Cf. *Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, 1876, pp. 65 ff., and *Das Buch Hiob*, 2nd edn., 1913, pp. xxiv ff. This view was quite common amongst older writers, after the rejection of the Elihu speeches had been advocated; cf. e.g. E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in V.T.*, Pars V, 1806, 756 ff., F. W. C. Umbreit, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1832, pp. xxv ff. n., J. G. Stickel, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1842, pp. 224 ff.; G. Wildeboer, *Die Literatur des A.Ts.*, German trans. by F. Risch, 1905, pp. 380 f., 382 ff.

[5] Cf. *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the O.T.*, Eng. trans. by G. H. Box, 1907, pp. 426 ff.

of the book.[1] Here alone, they said, does the author offer a solution of the problem of suffering, with which the book deals ; and surely he must have had some solution to offer.[2] But Elihu's solution is that suffering is disciplinary, to purge the heart of pride, which was Job's sin.[3] Unhappily for this view, the reason for Job's suffering was not that his heart might be purged of pride. The reader is clearly told in the Prologue that the reason for Job's suffering was the cynical accusation of the Satan. Yahweh had already declared him to be a man of piety and of true wholeness of character. It is true that in the argument with his friends Job exposes himself to the charge of self-righteousness and spiritual pride by the vehemence of his maintenance of his innocence. But this can offer no explanation of his sufferings, since it was something to which he gave way after his misfortunes came upon him. He was afflicted, as the reader is told quite clearly in the Prologue, not for his chastening, but to vindicate God's trust in him. It has been suggested that God lightly abandoned Job to the tender mercies of the Satan.[4] It is improbable that this is what the author meant to convey, and more likely that in his thought Job was supremely honoured by God, in that God had staked Himself on his unfailing integrity. Nor did Job let God down. For despite all his complaint, Job never for one moment regrets his integrity of character.[5] Hence the

[1] Other recent writers who retain the Elihu speeches for the original book are W. S. Bruce, *The Wisdom Literature of the O.T.*, 1928, pp. 22 f. ; Kallen, op. cit. pp. 31 ff. ; L. Dennefeld, *Introduction à l'A.T.*, 1935, p. 121, and *R.B.* xlviii (1939), 163 ff. ; P. Szczygiel, *Das Buch Job*, 1931, pp. 24 ff. ; B. D. Eerdmans, *Studies in Job*, 1939, pp. 16 f. ; J. H. Kroeze, *O.T.S.* ii (1943), 156 ff. ; A. M. Dubarle, *Les Sages d'Israël*, 1946, pp. 84 ff. ; J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, ii (2nd edn.), 1944, 167 ; P. Humbert, *V.T. Supplements* iii (Rowley Festschrift, 1955), 150.

[2] Cf. Cornill, op. cit. p. 426. Pedersen, op. cit. p. 531, observes : " It is strange that the interpreters should have taken these speeches as the valid expression of the views of the author, though the big words are clearly charged with irony ; if so, the speeches of the friends would also have to be taken as the serious opinion of the author."

[3] This thought is already found in the first speech of Eliphaz, Job v. 17 ff.

[4] Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1897, p. 8 ; " Mit einer Schnelligkeit und Kaltblütigkeit . . . geht Jahwe auf die Anregung des Satans ein."

[5] Cf. Gray, in Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. lv : " Job nowhere regrets his previous service of God, and never demands the restoration of the previous rewards ; what he does seek is God Himself, God unchanged, still his friend—on his side,

solution of Elihu, whatever may be said of its spiritual value, is irrelevant to the book. If the author had a solution to offer, it must be presumed that it was relevant to the situation he had himself created. Moreover, if the Elihu speeches were the climax of the work, the author might have been expected to integrate Elihu into his plan, to introduce him to his readers, or even to let him be commended by God in the Epilogue. Yet, strangely enough, it is Job who is commended in the Epilogue, yet who is sharply rebuked by Elihu. It is surely incredible that the author of the Elihu speeches can have composed the Epilogue. We shall, however, have to consider below the view that the Prologue or the Epilogue or both come from a hand other than the author's.[1]

The view has been taken that the book once ended with the Elihu speeches, and the speeches of God and the consequent submission of Job, together with the Epilogue, were all additions.[2] This is hard to believe. For in that case the book lacks plan and finish, and the brilliant creator of the dialogue must have been an incompetent architect. The handing over of Job to the Satan is the last word of God, who is not remotely interested in the fate of the man to whose piety He had paid such tribute, and Job's appeal to God is without response. Job is left in the Satan's hand, and a solution irrelevant to the problem is all the reader is left with. Nor is it clear how it can be supposed that a later writer, with the Elihu speeches before him, added the Epilogue

unestranged from him, and not, as the theory assures him He has now become, his enemy."

[1] This is not, however, the view of those who retain the Elihu speeches. Cornill says: "Without the Prologue the whole of the following speeches would remain suspended in the air, the reader would be entirely at a loss as to how he ought to take Job's constant asseverations of innocence, and might even at last feel tempted to side with the friends against Job" (op. cit. p. 423). He also regards the Epilogue as indispensable to the book (ibid.).

[2] A. van Hoonacker, *R.B.* xii (1903), 165, suggested that the book may have ended with chapter xxxi, thus rejecting the Elihu speeches, the divine speeches and the Epilogue. W. A. Irwin, *J.R.* xvii (1937), 45 f., argued that the divine speeches were added after the Elihu speeches, which were themselves a later addition to the original work. L. W. Batten, *A.T.R.* xv (1933), 126 f., supposed that originally all that stood after chapter xxxi was xlii. 7-9, which he believed to be older than the Prologue, while xlii. 12-17 he thought to be closely related to the Prologue.

without referring to Elihu. It would seem wiser, with most scholars, to let Elihu go and to credit the author with more wholeness of purpose and plan.

The next serious problem is the relation of the prose Prologue and Epilogue to the poetic dialogue.[1] Here various views have been adopted. Some have supposed that the Prologue and Epilogue are older than the dialogue, and that the author took them over from some existing literary source, and composed the dialogue to wrestle with his problem.[2] Others have held that while there was an older popular story of an ancient worthy who was suddenly smitten with spectacular misfortune, the author of our book composed the Prologue and Epilogue as the setting for the dialogue.[3] Yet others have held that the Prologue and Epilogue are a later addition to the book, and that the dialogue preceded them.[4]

[1] On this question cf. G. Fohrer, *V.T.* vi (1956), 249 ff.

[2] So J. Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, xvi (1871), 555; K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob*, pp. xiii f.; M. Vernes, *R.H.R.* i (1880), 232; T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, pp. 66 f., and *E.B.* ii (1901), 2467 f.; D. B. Macdonald, *J.B.L.* xiv (1895), 63 ff., and *A.J.S.L.* xiv (1897-8), 137 ff.; F. Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1902, p. 13; B. Duhm, op. cit. pp. vii f.; C. Siegfried, *J.E.* vii (1907), 195; P. Volz, *S.A.T.* III, ii (1911), 2; C. Steuernagel, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1912, p. 694; L. Gautier, *Introduction à l'A.T.*, 2nd edn., ii (1914), 98 f.; P. Bertie, *Le poème de Job*, 1929, p. 15; G. H. Box, op. cit. p. 120; Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, p. 173; A. Lods, *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii (1947), p. xi, and *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, 671 ff.; A. M. Dubarle, *Les Sages d'Israël*, 1946, p. 67.

[3] So Gray, in Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. xxxviii; P. Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 1926, p. lxvii; H. Ranston, *The O.T. Wisdom Books and their Teaching*, 1930, pp. 114, 172; J. E. McFadyen, *Introduction to the O.T.*, 1932, p. 314; G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1937, p. 4; H. Wheeler Robinson, *The O.T.: its Making and Meaning*, 1937, pp. 153 f.; F. James, *Personalities of the O.T.*, 1947, p. 194; A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the O.T.*, 2nd edn., ii (1952), p. 175 ("the postulated differences between the narrative and the dialogue are not strong enough to account for a separation").

[4] So A. Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, i (1737), Preface, p. 34; S. Lee, op. cit. pp. 36 f.; G. Studer, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, i (1875), 706 ff.; K. Kautzsch, *Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob*, 1900, pp. 69, 88. R. Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, 2nd edn., 1685, p. 30, rejected the Prologue, as also does E. König, op. cit. pp. 462 ff. On the other hand Buttenwieser retained the Prologue and rejected the Epilogue (op. cit. pp. 65, 67), and so K. Fullerton, *Z.A.W.* xlii (1924), 116 ff., and L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, i (1938), 235. W. B. Stevenson, *The Poem of Job*, 1947, pp. 21 ff., holds that the poetic work once opened with Job iii. 2, and that the Prologue and Epilogue were later joined

It seems to me difficult to suppose that the Prologue and Epilogue are later than the dialogue.[1] For without the Prologue we have no setting for the dialogue.[2] We are not told who the three friends are, or what the dialogue is all about. That Job is suffering is clear from the dialogue, but that he has been a man of exemplary piety who was suddenly plunged into dire calamity and pain would not be clear to any reader. Indeed, W. B. Stevenson, who took this view of the origin of the book, denies that Job's sufferings were due to disease, and ascribes them to persecution.[3] Instead of finding Job to be the hero of the book, he thinks he was a rebel against God, who was given wise counsel by the friends.[4] In that case the Prologue and Epilogue would be completely irrelevant to the dialogue.

The dialogue surely requires some introduction,[5] and without it the book is a torso. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that it once had a different beginning and ending, but that the present Prologue and Epilogue have been substituted for them.[6] No trace of a different setting for the dialogue has

to it from an independent prose work, in which something else stood between the Prologue and Epilogue ; cf. also Pedersen, op. cit. p. 531 (" there is no natural context between the poem and the prologue-epilogue, so it seems most probable that they are independent productions "). B. D. Eerdmans, *Studies in Job*, 1939, p. 5, declares the Prologue and Epilogue to be later than the dialogue.

[1] Cf. D. B. Macdonald, *J.B.L.* xiv (1895), 63 : " Without the prologue, the poem itself would be as unintelligible as the second part of *Faust* without the first. Some introduction is absolutely necessary, and if this present prologue is a later addition, it must have been put in the place of something else that was cut away to make room for it. But of this there cannot be a fragment of proof, and it does not help in any way towards a solution of the problem of the poem." Similarly A. Lods, *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii, p. xii, says it is incredible that the Prologue was added later. Cf. S. Davidson, *Introduction to the O.T.*, ii (1863), 202 ; F. Bleek, *Introduction to the O.T.*, Eng. trans. by G. H. Venables, ii (1894), 280 ; C. Steuernagel, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1912, p. 694 ; and S. L. Terrien, *I.B.* iii (1954), 887.

[2] G. Studer, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1881, pp. 20 ff., thought chapters xxix f. were the original introduction to the poem. A. B. Davidson (*The Book of Job*, 1884, p. xxix n.) observed, with reference to Studer's view : " One of the latest writers on the book has found it necessary to amputate every limb from the poem, leaving it a mere trunk, consisting of ch. iii-xxxi, and even this trunk is so misshapen that its shoulders are found in the region of its bowels."

[3] Cf. op. cit. pp. 31 ff.

[4] Ibid. pp. 26, 45, 54.

[5] Cf. W. Baumgartner, in *O.T.M.S.*, p. 217 : " How is one to conceive of the dialogue without the framework ? "

[6] N. H. Tur-Sinai (*The Book of Job*, 1957, p. 31) holds that the present

survived, and it would be hard to invent anything more appropriate than what we now have. But even if our ingenuity could suggest something more appropriate, that would be no evidence that our invention was really a restoration of the original book.[1] We should need to explain why it was that our supposed introduction was replaced by something less appropriate, and how it was that the inferior so effectively ousted the superior that no trace of it has survived. Or if we should suppose that the original introduction was inferior to the present Prologue, and on that account was replaced, we should need to explain why it was that the brilliant author of the dialogue was unsuccessful in composing a suitable setting for his story.[2] The position here is totally unlike that in relation to the Elihu speeches, which can be omitted without affecting in any way the structure of the book.

Prologue and Epilogue are younger than the dialogue, but that they may have replaced a lost older framework.

[1] T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, p. 161, makes the contrary assumption, that the poetic part of the book, iii. 1-xlii. 7, has replaced a short prose section which he imaginatively reconstructs as follows: "And these three men, moved at the sight of Job's grief, broke out into lamentations, and withheld not passionate complaints of the injustice of God. They said: "Is there knowledge in the Most High? And does God judge righteous judgment? But Job was sore displeased, and reproved them, saying, Bitter is the pain which racks me, but more bitter still are the words which ye speak. . . . And at the end of a season, God came to Eliphaz in a dream and said, My wrath is kindled against thee and thy two friends, because ye have not spoken of Me that which is right, as My servant Job has." This is approved by F. Buhl, in *Vom A.T.* (Marti Festschrift), 1925, p. 58. Cf. also D. B. Macdonald, *J.B.L.* xiv (1895), 63 ff.: "Job in the original story had taken God's part, while the friends had followed more or less implicitly the course of Job's wife in our prologue." Cf. also J. Lindblom, *La composition du livre de Job*, 1945, p. 11. This is mere modern fiction, for which no shred of evidence is, or can be, adduced. It is more profitable to seek to understand the masterpiece which has come down to us than to compose inferior works which we could devise, whose non-survival would have been so well merited. E. G. Kraeling, *Review of Religion*, x (1946), 427, says: "It seems intrinsically unlikely and unthinkable that a folktale should have introduced three visitors with no other function than to accuse the God of Job in a few words." Cf. S. Spiegel, in *Louis Ginzberg Memorial Volume*, 1945, p. 325.

[2] B. Duhm (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1897, p. vii) and Oesterley and Robinson (*Introduction to the Books of the O.T.*, 1934, p. 173) think the friends already figure in the older book, while P. Volz (*S.A.T.* III, ii (1911), 2 f. n.) thinks the author of the poetic part of the work added them. P. Bertie (op. cit. pp. 15, 95) thinks they were imported by the author of the dialogue later than the introduction of Job's complaint, iii, xxix-xxxi.

It is true that in the dialogue there is no reference to the explanation of Job's sufferings that has been given in the Prologue. But how could there be? Job and his friends would not need to be told of his former state or of his present misfortunes. Of the reason for his sufferings they could not, in the nature of the case, know, and as little could they guess. They had not been present in the heavenly court, and could not know that Job's sufferings were due to the Satan's cynical imputations against his single-minded piety. If there had been any reference to this in the dialogue, the author would have given himself away as a writer with little skill.

Not a few writers have charged him with contradicting in the dialogue what is said in the Prologue, and have found here an indication of a different hand.[1] In xix. 17 Job is thought to refer to his sons as still living, whereas in the Prologue they had all been killed.[2] Actually in the dialogue there are two passages which seem to recognize that Job's sons were dead (viii. 4 and xxix. 5), so that if there were a lapse in xix. 17, it would not show that the dialogue came from a different hand from the Prologue. In fact, however, the expression in xix. 17 is an unusual one if the reference is to Job's children. For the phrase used here is "the children of my womb". The reference could be to the womb of Job's wife, which might be regarded as belonging to him; but it could equally be to the womb of his mother, regarded as his because from it he emerged.[3] Both R.V. and R.S.V. understand the verse in the latter sense.

There are certain differences between the dialogue and its setting, however, to which appeal has been made for the view that the Prologue and Epilogue were taken over from an existing source. Notable amongst these is the fact that whereas the divine name Yahweh stands frequently in the Prologue and Epilogue, it is studiously avoided in the dialogue, where we find El thirty-three times, Eloah thirty-three times, and Shaddai

[1] Cf. Oesterley-Robinson, *Introduction*, p. 172: "The whole conception of religion is different." On the other hand Hölscher (op. cit. p. 4) says the differences between the poem and its framework have been greatly exaggerated.

[2] Cf. Duhm, op. cit. p. 100; Cheyne, *E.B.* ii. 2467.

[3] Cf. Buttenwieser, op. cit. pp. 24 ff. Cf. Job iii. 10, where Job says "my womb" when he means his mother's.

twenty-four times.[1] It is surprising that so much has been built on this. The dialogue consists of speeches put into the mouth of Job's three foreign friends and of Job in reply to them. It is not unnatural that the friends should use more general Semitic terms for God, and should not be represented as worshippers of the God of the Jews, or that Job in speaking to them should use these more general terms. Once in the dialogue we find the name Yahweh,[2] and it is often supposed that here the author slipped, or that a copyist has introduced the name in error.[3] It is to be noted, however, that even here it is on the lips of Job that we find the name and in the Prologue Job is presented as a worshipper of Yahweh. He is said to be from the land of Uz, and though this cannot be identified, it is likely that it was a foreign land, and Job was not therefore a Jew.[4] Nevertheless, he is declared to be one who reverenced Yahweh,[5] whereas the

[1] For an analysis of the occurrences of the divine names, cf. Gray, in Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. xxxv. [2] Job xii. 9.

[3] So, e.g. Peake, op. cit. p. 135; Strahan, op. cit. p. 118; Dhorme, op. cit. p. 157. J. Steinmann, *Le livre de Job*, 1955, pp. 243 f., rejects xii. 7-10 as a gloss, and says that the presence of the name Yahweh would alone be sufficient to indicate a gloss. Ball, op. cit. p. 212, on the contrary, says: "It is surely significant that the poet . . . should here, and here only, introduce the special name of the God of Israel. In so doing he not only betrays his own nationality. He also reveals his purpose of comforting his people during a period of national calamity."

[4] Pfeiffer (op. cit. p. 682; cf. *Z.A.W.* xliv (N.F. iii, 1926), 17 ff.) thinks the author's thought and language are Edomite. Similarly J. Lindblom (*La composition du livre de Job*, 1945, pp. 3 ff.) thinks the original work was Edomite. Cf. Gray in Driver-Gray, op. cit. pp. xxvii ff. Dhorme (*R.B.*, N.S. viii (1911), pp. 102 ff.) connects rather with the Hauran, and so G. A. Barton, *J.B.L.* xxxi (1912), 63 ff. Cf. Gray, loc. cit. p. xxx. Eissfeldt, *Z.D.M.G.* civ (1954), 109, 116, connects Job with Ṣafā, though he does not exclude the possibility that the author of Job lived in Palestine (*Einleitung*, 2nd. edn., p. 578). P. Humbert (*Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientale d'Israël*, 1929, pp. 75 ff.) thinks the home of the author was Egypt. Cf. R. Marcus, *Review of Religion*, xiii (1949), 9 ff., where, however, the author observes that Humbert is too confident about the Egyptian origin of some passages in Job (p. 9 n.). F. H. Foster, (*A.J.S.L.* xlix (1932-3), 21 ff.) argues that the work was a translation from Arabic, while J. P. Naish (*Expositor*, 9th series, iii (1925), 34 ff., 94 ff.) thinks Job was a Babylonian Jew early in the Persian period.

[5] The divine name Yahweh is found on the lips of Job only in the expression of resignation in i. 21. In the opening verse we are told that Job feared God, but that God is to be identified with Yahweh is apparent from i. 8, where Yahweh declares that Job is one who served Him.

friends are nowhere so represented. It should be added that in the author's rubrics introducing the speeches of Yahweh and Job's answers, the divine name is again found ; so that if we hold the Prologue and Epilogue to be older than the dialogue on this ground, we should need to suppose that these introductions to speeches stood also in the older book. We certainly cannot charge the author with inconsistency on this ground if he composed both setting and dialogue.

That there was an older tradition of a good man who suffered there is little reason to doubt, and our author probably took over this tradition to base his book on it. In the book of Ezekiel there are references to Job as a conspicuously righteous man,[1] and since these references almost certainly antedate the present book of Job they bear witness to an old tradition about a Job, who may well be the person around whom our author built his work.

Moreover, the theme of a righteous sufferer need not be presumed to be an original one with the author of our book. That the righteous may suffer must have been observed by men from ancient times, and the theme has figured in the literature of many countries.[2] Many writers have cited certain Babylonian texts,[3]

[1] Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.

[2] Cf. my *Submission in Suffering and other Essays*, 1951, where I survey thought on this subject in many religions. Cf. also E. F. Sutcliffe, *Providence and Suffering in O. and N.T.*, 1955, pp. 1 ff. ; J. J. Stamm, *J.E.O.L.* No. 9, 1944, pp. 99 ff., and *Das Leiden des Unschuldigen in Babylon und Israel*, 1946. On Egyptian texts that have been cited, cf. Buttenwieser, op. cit. pp. 11 f. ; K. Fries, op. cit. pp. 12 ff. ; P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientale d'Israël*, 1929, pp. 75 ff. ; J. Steinmann, *Le livre de Job*, 1955, pp. 25 ff. For the text containing the dialogue of a man with his own soul, cf. J. A. Wilson in J. B. Pritchard (ed. by), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the O.T.*, 1950, pp. 405 ff. ; H. Ranke, in Gressmann, *A.T.O.T.*, 2nd edn., 1926, pp. 25 ff. ; B. van der Walle, *Chronique d'Egypte*, xiv, 1939, pp. 312 ff. ; A. Hermann, *O.L.Z.* xlii (1939), 345 ff. ; A. de Buck, *Kernmomenten*, 1947, pp. 19 ff. Cf. also J. Paulus, " Le thème du Juste Souffrant dans la pensée grecque et hébraïque ", in *R.H.R.* cxxi (1940), 18 ff.

[3] One text, called " A Pessimistic Dialogue between a Master and his Servant " is translated by Pfeiffer, in J. B. Pritchard (ed. by), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the O.T.*, 1950, pp. 437 f. For the Akkadian text, cf. G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, 1896, Anhang, No. vi, p. 143 ; E. Ebeling, *K.A.R.* i, no. 96, 170 ff., and *M.V.A.G.* xxiii, no. 2, 1919, 83 f. Translations, partial translations, and discussions (with or without Akkadian text in transcription) of this text may be found in G. B. Gray, *E.T.* xxxi (1919-20), 440 ff. ;

and especially one commonly referred to as the "Babylonian Job",[1] which in some respects offers a parallel to the book of Job.[2] Here the sufferer is a pious king, who is stricken by disease, mocked by his friends, and ultimately restored. So far there are elements parallel to the book of Job. More fundamental, however, are the differences.[3] The Babylonian sufferer

Ebeling, *M.V.A.G.*, loc. cit. pp. 54 ff., and in H. Gressmann, A.T.O.T. 2nd edn., 1926, pp. 284 ff.; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, 1923, pp. 67 ff.; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii (1925), 432 ff.; T. Jacobsen, in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, 1946, pp. 216 ff.; J. J. Stamm, *Das Leiden des Unschuldigen in Babylon und Israel*, pp. 14 ff.; E. A. Speiser, *J.C.S.* viii (1954), 98 ff.; E. F. Sutcliffe, op. cit. 1955, pp. 34 ff. For the study of another Akkadian text, cf. P. Dhorme, *R.B.* xxxii (1923), 5 ff. (reprinted in *Recueil Edouard Dhorme*, 1951, pp. 655 ff.). Recently S. N. Kramer has published (*V.T. Supplements*, iii (Rowley Festschrift, 1955), 170 ff.) a Sumerian text with some affinities with the Job story; cf. also H. Schmökel, *F.u.F.* xxx (1956), 74 ff.

[1] For a translation, cf. Pfeiffer, in Pritchard, op. cit. pp. 434 ff. Several copies of fragments of this text have been found. For the Akkadian text, cf. H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv (2nd. edn., 1891), no. 60; V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, 1902, p. 105, no. 37; R. Campbell Thompson, *P.S.B.A.* xxxii (1910), 18 ff.; S. Landersdorfer, *Eine babylonische Quelle für das Buch Job?* 1911, pp. 14 ff. (translation pp. 21 ff.); E. Ebeling, *K.A.R.* i (1919), nos. 10, 11, 108, 175, pp. 14, 15, 187, 319, ii, (Heft 8, 1923), no. 326, pp. 272 f. Other translations, partial translations and discussions (some with Akkadian text in transcription) may be found in H. Zimmern, in Schrader-Zimmern-Winckler, *K.A.T.* (3rd edn., 1903), pp. 385 ff., and *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl*, 1905 (Alte Orient vii, no. 3), pp. 28 ff.; M. Jastrow, *J.B.L.* xxv (1906), 135 ff., and *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii (1912), 120 ff.; P. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, 1907, pp. 372 ff.; F. Martin, *Journal asiatique*, 10th series, xvi (1910), 75 ff.; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.*, 1912, pp. 164 ff.; C. J. Ball, op. cit. p. 9 ff.; Gray, *E.T.* xxxi (1919-20), 442, and in Driver-Gray, op. cit. pp. xxxi ff.; Langdon, op. cit. pp. 35 ff.; W. L. Wardle, *Israel and Babylon*, 1925, pp. 87 ff.; Ebeling in Gressmann, op. cit. pp. 273 ff.; J. Plessis in Pirot's *S.D.B.* i (1928), 824 ff.; T. Jacobsen, loc. cit. pp. 212 ff.; J. J. Stamm, op. cit. pp. 17 ff.; J. Nougayrol, *R.B.* lix (1952), 239 ff.; Sutcliffe, op. cit. pp. 27 ff. A part of this text was translated in A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures), 1887, pp. 535 ff., but of this translation M. Jastrow, *J.B.L.* xxv (1906), 141 n., says: "The translation is antiquated, and only a very few lines of it are correct."

[2] M. Jastrow, *The Book of Job*, p. 48, refers to a similar Indian tale. Cf. also A. and M. Hanson, *The Book of Job*, 1953, p. 9; also A. Lods, *R.H.P.R.* xiv (1934), 527 ff., and *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, pp. 691 f.; S. L. Terrien, *I.B.*, iii (1954), 879.

[3] M. Jastrow, *J.B.L.* xxv (1906), 188, suggests that the Babylonian text and the book of Job both derived from a common original.

cries to God for relief from his miseries, as many another in all ages has done. He is quite unaware what he can have done to deserve his troubles, but he is ready to believe that in some unremembered or unconscious way he must have offended against the deity and brought them on himself. This stands in contrast to Job, who consistently maintains that his misfortunes were not brought on him by himself. His innocence is proclaimed in the Prologue, and protested by Job throughout. Hence, as Buttenwieser says, the Babylonian story " lacks all those essential points that give the Job story its distinct character ".[1] Further, the book of Job, as will be said later, is far more than a cry against God or an appeal to God. It carries a religious message which will be sought in vain in the Babylonian text.[2]

It seems most likely, therefore, that while the author of our book did not create the figure of Job as a righteous sufferer, he used this figure as the vehicle of his message, and wrote the Prologue as the introduction to his dialogue, setting the stage for the debate and introducing the three friends, and also explaining to the reader the reason for Job's suffering, since it was necessary to his purpose that he should do this, as will appear. As C. F. Aked perceived, the Prologue " is only the *machinery* of the drama, the author's way of getting his characters upon the stage and into action ".[3] Oesterley and Robinson say that McFadyen and Kautzsch " stand almost alone in ascribing the framework to the poet himself ".[4] Actually other names could also be cited,[5] and I would add mine to the list.

We must not ignore some objections which have been raised

[1] Op. cit. p. 10. Similarly Dhorme, *Le livre de Job*, p. lxxxvi, says : " La comparaison entre le thème de ce poème et celui du livre de Job prouve jusqu' à l'évidence que le livre de Job est indépendant de la composition babylonienne." Cf. also Landersdorfer, op. cit. p. 138. Cf. Ball, op. cit. p. 8 : " We might as well expect to find Shakespeare as we know him in the pages of Holinshed or Plutarch, or in the plays of Plautus and Seneca, or in the dramas and romances of his Italian contemporaries, as to find the direct source of this extraordinary product of Israel's genius in Babylonian or any other older literature." R. Marcus, *Review of Religion*, xiii (1949), 12 f., observes that " the author of the Hebrew Wisdom book has touched depths of thought and feeling much more profound than those revealed in the Babylonian poem ".

[2] For a comparison between the two texts, cf. J. Plessis, loc. cit. cols. 826 ff.

[3] Cf. *The Divine Drama of Job*, 1913, p. 18.

[4] Cf. *Introduction*, p. 173 n.

[5] Cf. above, p. 177, n. 3.

against the Epilogue, however. By some writers this is thought to mar the book, and to give away the whole case to the friends. For in the Epilogue Job's prosperity is restored. Here, then, we find that merit leads to prosperity, precisely as the friends had maintained it always does, and as Job had felt it should. We must remember that every writer is limited by the form he adopts. The author of the book of Job had written the Prologue as the setting for his dialogue, and he was artist enough not to forget it. To have ended the book without the Epilogue would have been to leave it unfinished. In the Prologue Job was delivered into the hands of the Satan to be tested. He had stood the test and had not been found wanting. It is sometimes pointed out that in the divine speech Job is severely condemned, and that this stands in contrast to the commendation in the Epilogue and indicates diversity of authorship.[1] But the condemnation and the commendation are not on the same issue.[2] Job is condemned for presuming to pass judgement on things beyond his understanding, and for the rash things he had said after his misfortunes had come upon him. He is not condemned on the issue on which he is being tried. The wild things he had uttered to his friends were not the cause of his sufferings.[3] Nowhere does he express the slightest regret for his integrity of character, or renounce the uprightness of his way. The Satan had cast doubt on the disinterestedness of his piety, and on this issue he had been proved wrong and Job had been vindicated. It would have been intolerable to leave him still in the hands of the Satan. No longer would this have been the test of Job, but mere malice and vindictiveness. A human court which left a defendant to languish in gaol after a verdict of acquittal would be denounced as unjust. Job was acquitted, and therefore he must be delivered from his misfortunes, since they are the form his trial takes.[4]

[1] Cf. e.g. K. Fullerton, *Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i, 1924), 127.

[2] Cf. Gray, in Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. lix.

[3] In the course of the debate Job says many things which were doubtless thought blasphemous by the friends, as they have been by later readers. But, as K. Fullerton (*Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i), 119) observes, the God whom Job rejects is no real God, but the phantom God created by the dogma of the friends.

[4] Cf. Davidson-Lanchester, *The Book of Job*, 1918, p. xli: "If the drama be the trial of the righteous, the author must bring it to some conclusion."

The Epilogue was not demanded by the message of the book; but it was demanded by its form. The trial was over and the case against Job had been proved to be empty. The Epilogue is merely the author's way of indicating this and rounding off his book.[1]

There is no time here to examine some individual varieties of the view that rejects the Prologue and Epilogue. E. G. Kraeling rejects as secondary most of the Prologue, viz. i.1-ii.10, but retains ii.11-13, and believes that the Epilogue comes from the same hand as ii.11-13, save that xlii.10-17 form a makeshift conclusion which probably came from the author of i.1-ii.10.[2] This at least recognizes that the restoration of the prosperity was demanded by the Prologue, but it fails to explain why the original introduction should have disappeared. The book cannot be supposed to have begun abruptly with ii.11-13, and we are back at the point we have already considered. J. Lindblom published a stimulating work in Swedish [3] and a shorter one in French,[4] propounding highly original views. While finding the Prologue and Epilogue to be older than the dialogue, he postulates a somewhat complex history for the Prologue and Epilogue. He maintains that originally there was an Edomite form of these, in which neither Job's wife nor the Satan figured,[5] but that a later Israelite editor brought these in and substituted a new ending for the original one. Still later the

[1] It is often remarked that the Satan finds no mention in the Epilogue, and supposed that this indicates some lapse on the author's part, but the scene of the Epilogue is not in heaven, and if God had mentioned the Satan in his judgement He would have had to indicate to Job the cause of his sufferings. Yet this was precisely what could not be revealed if the book was to retain its value for men who must suffer in the dark. The author of the book was more clear-sighted than his critics.

[2] Cf. *The Book of the Ways of God*, pp. 167, 175. Kraeling also further substantially reduces the book by rejecting xxix-xxxi (pp. 111 ff.), as well as the Elihu speeches (pp. 125 ff.) and one divine speech (pp. 143 ff.).

[3] Cf. *Boken om Job och hans lidande*, 1940.

[4] Cf. *La composition du livre de Job*, 1945.

[5] Other scholars who have thought the Satan passages to be secondary include Kautzsch, op. cit. p. 88; Jastrow, *The Book of Job*, pp. 52 ff.; L. W. Batten, *A.T.R.* xv (1933), 127; L. Finkelstein, op. cit. i (1938), 235; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, p. 669. On the other hand, Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob*, pp. 2 f., says it is wrong to delete the Satan.

Edomite ending came back in an amended form to stand beside the other.[1] I have already said that I am not persuaded that the Prologue and Epilogue are from an earlier hand than the dialogue, and I find it difficult to believe that if they had been they could have had so complicated a history.

We may next look at the third cycle of speeches, which, as has been said, tails off. In chapter xxii Eliphaz opens this cycle, as he had opened the others. Job replies in chapters xxiii f. Then Bildad speaks in chapter xxv, and Job replies in chapter xxvi. Chapter xxvii appears to be a further speech of Job's, introduced by the unusual formula " And Job again took up his parable and said ". Zophar disappears altogether from this cycle. It has been suggested that this is deliberate on the part of the author, to suggest that the friends had run out of arguments.[2] It is to be observed, however, that there are some indications of disorder in the text in this cycle. In chapter xxiv there is material which does not seem to fit the lips of Job, and which some scholars have held to be misplaced. Again, in chapter xxvi, which contains Job's reply to Bildad, there is much that is inappropriate to Job, but which would accord better with the

[1] Op. cit. pp. 3 ff. Jastrow (loc. cit.) finds four epilogues, xlii. 10-17, xlii. 7-9, xl. 1-14, xlii. 1-6. McFadyen, *Introduction*, p. 314, rejects xlii.10-17. K. Fullerton, *Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i, 1924), 126 ff., thinks xlii. 7-9 a gloss by one who sympathized with the positions taken by the author in the dialogue, while xlii. 1-6, 10-17 came from a single hand, who placed xlii. 7-9 where it is. Dhorme (op. cit. p. lxxvi) speaks scornfully of the " fantaisies " of Fullerton, and observes that his " machiavélisme est plutôt le fait du critique que de l'auteur du livre de Job ". Cf. also A. Alt, *Z.A.W.* lv (N.F. xiv, 1937), 265 ff., for another analysis, according to which xlii. 11-17 is the oldest part of the Epilogue. Alt thought these verses originally connected with i. 14-17. Against such views W. E. Staples, *The Speeches of Elihu*, 1925, p. 7, maintains the unity of the epilogue.

[2] Cf. A. Schultens, *Le livre de Job*, French trans. by E. de Joncourt, J. Sacrelaire, and J. Allamand, 1748, Argument, p. 6 : " A l'égard de Tsophar, il se fait quand son tour de parler revient, soit qu'il n'ait rien à ajouter à ce qui a été dit, ou qu'il soit convaincu de la justice de la cause de Job " (cf. *Liber Jobi*, ii (1737), 729 : " Vel convictus itaque, vel conterritus Tsopharus, quem tertius nunc orbis certaminum tangebat, silet "). Cf. also H. Möller, *Sinn und Aufbau des Buches Hiob*, 1955, p. 63. K. Fullerton, *Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i, 1924, 121) says : " To explain this, as is usually done, as if it were intended to illustrate the gradual drying up of the Friends' powers of argumentation is most mechanical and quite unworthy of an author who shows the psychological insight displayed in the previous part of the Dialogue."

views of the friends, and the same is true of chapter xxvii. In this latter chapter it is common to find traces of a lost speech of Zophar's.[1] While the reconstructions of scholars differ considerably in detail,[2] there is a wide agreement that probably originally the third cycle of speeches was complete, but that part

[1] B. Kennicott, *V.T. Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, ii (1780), Dissertatio Generalis, p. 155, and *Remarks on Select Passages in the O.T.*, 1787, pp. 169 ff., held xxvii. 11-23 to be Zophar's and McFadyen (op. cit. p. 316) attributed to Zophar xxvii. 7-23. Some authors reject as secondary xxvii. 7-23 (so Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1948, p. 89, who also rejects xxiv. 1-8, 10-23; Volz, *S.A.T.* III, ii (1911), 27), or xxvii. 11-23 (so König, op. cit. pp. 271 f.), or xxvii. 13-23 (so H. Strack, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 5th edn., 1898, p. 136). Marshall, on the other hand, retains xxvii. 7-23, and finds here Job's retraction (op. cit. p. 11). W. T. Davison (in Hastings's *D.B.* ii (1899), 666) holds that xxvii. 7-23 are out of place, whether they are to be regarded as part of a speech of Bildad or Zophar or not, but otherwise he rejects only xxviii and the Elihu speeches.

[2] The reconstructions that have been proposed are innumerable. A few examples must here suffice. B. Kennicott (op. cit. ii, Dissertatio Generalis, p. 115) assigns xxv to Bildad, xxvi. 1-xxvii.12 to Job, xxvii. 13-23 to Zophar, and xxviii ff. to Job; M. H. Stuhlmann (*Hiob: ein religiöses Gedicht*, 1804, pp. 148 ff.) assigns xxv and xxviii to Bildad, xxvi. 1-xxvii. 10 to Job, xxvii. 11-23 to Zophar, and xxix ff. to Job; E. Reuss (*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften A.Ts.*, 2nd. edn., 1890, p. 309) assigns xxv and xxvi. 5-14 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-4 and xxvii. 2-23 to Job, with xxviii as unoriginal; G. Bickell (*Das Buch Job*, 1894, pp. 43 ff.) assigns xxv. 1-3, xxvi. 12 f., 14 c, xxv. 4-6 to Bildad, xxvi. 2, 4, xxvii. 2, 4-6, 11 f., xxviii. 1-3, 9-11, 20-28 to Job, xxvii. 7-10, 14-20 to Zophar, xxix ff. to Job; Duhm (op. cit. pp. 120 ff.) assigns xxvi. 1-4, xxv. 2-6, xxvi. 5 f., 11-14 to Bildad, xxvii. 1-6, 12 to Job, xxvii. 7-11, 13-23 to Zophar, xxix ff. to Job, with xxviii as unoriginal; C. Siegfried (*J.E.* vii (1907), 198 f.) assigns xxv, xxvi. 5-14 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 2-6, xxix ff. to Job, with xxvii. 7,–xxviii. 28 as unoriginal; L. Laue (*Die Composition des Buches Hiob*, 1895, pp. 75, 90) assigns xxvii. 13-23 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-3, ix. 2-24 to Job, xxviii to Zophar, xii to Job, and deletes xxv as unoriginal; G. A. Barton (*J.B.L.* xxx (1911), 70 ff.) assigns xxiv. 1-4, 9-16, 23, 25 to Job, xxv. 1-6, xxiv. 17 f., 5-8, xxx. 3-8, xxiv. 21 f., 19 f., 24 to Bildad, xxvi to Job, xxvii. 7-11, 13-23 to Zophar, xxvii. 1-6, 12, xxix. 2-25, xxx. 1 f., 9-31 to Job, with xxviii as unoriginal; Gray (in Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. l) xxiii, xxiv (except xxiii. 8 f. and xxiv. 13-17 and parts of 18-24) to Job, xxv (? and xxvi) to Bildad, xxvii. 2-6, 11f., to Job, xxvii. 7-10, 13-23 to Zophar (?); P. Dhorme (op. cit. pp. 312 ff.; followed by H. Rongy, *Revue Ecclésiastique de Liége*, xxv (1933), 97 f.; cf. also Dhorme, *R.B.* xxxiii (1924), 343 ff., and S. L. Terrien, *I.B.*, iii (1954), 888) assigns xxiii, xxiv. 1-17, 25 to Job, xxv. 1-6, xxvi. 5-14 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 2-12 to Job, xxvii. 13, xxiv. 18-24, xxvii. 14-23 to Zophar, xxix ff. to Job; F. Buhl (in *Vom A.T.* (Marti Festschrift), 1925, p. 52) regards xxiv-xxviii as a conglomeration of fragments of varied origin (with this cf. F. Baumgärtel, *Der Hiobdialog*, 1933, p. 156, where the third cycle is described as " ein Trümmerfeld, in dem sich niemand mehr zurecht findet "); E. J. Kissane (*The Book of Job*, pp. 163 ff.) assigns xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 7-23 to Bildad, xxix-xxxi to Job, xxv, xxvi. 5-14 to

has been lost, and what has survived is not in its original order.[1] It would be out of place here to discuss the reconstructions in detail, and in any case they do not substantially affect our understanding of the nature and purpose of the book.

We may turn next to the speeches of Yahweh. Some scholars have rejected these altogether,[2] and it has been argued that the author of the Elihu speeches could not have known them, or he

Zophar, xxvii. 1-6, xxxi to Job; Pfeiffer (op. cit. pp. 663 f., 671) assigns xxiii. xxiv. 1-12, 25, to Job, xxv. 1, xxvii. 7-10, 16-23 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 11 f., xxv. 2-6, xxvi. 5-14 to Job, xxvii. 13, xxiv. 21-24, 18-20, xxvii. 14 f. to Zophar, xxvii. 1-6, xxix. ff. to Job; Lefèvre (in *S.D.B.* iv. 1078 f.) assigns xxiii. 1-xxiv. 17 to Job, xxvi. 5-14, xxv. 2-6 to Bildad, xxvi. 2-4, xxvii. 2-12 to Job, xxvii. 13-23, xxiv. 18-23 to Zophar; R. Tournay (*R.B.* lxiv (1957), 321 ff.) holds that xxiv. 18-25 should be transferred to follow Zophar's speech xxvii. 13-23, and that xxv. 2- xxvi. 4 should follow xxvi. 5-14, which then belongs to Bildad's third speech; H. W. Hertzberg (in *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, pp. 238 ff.) assigns xxiii. 13-24, xxv. 2-6 to Bildad, xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 11 f., xxvi. 5-14, xxvii. 2-6 to Job, and, xxvii. 7-10, 13-23 to Zophar. While there is a substantial measure of agreement, amongst some of these the measure of disagreement is significant of the difficulty of any reconstruction. Marshall (op. cit. p. 72) attributes xxv. 2-6, xxvi. 5-14 to Zophar. For further discussions of this cycle cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.R.*, N.F. xxi (1953), 277 ff.

[1] W. A. Irwin, *J.R.* xvii (1937), 40 ff., thinks the author of the Elihu speeches had the complete third cycle before him, and so suggests that we may use the Elihu speeches to reconstruct its contents. K. Fullerton, *Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i, 1924), thinks chapters xxi-xxxi have been tampered with in dogmatic interests.

[2] Gray was earlier inclined to reject both speeches; cf. *Critical Introduction to the O.T.*, 1913, p. 523. Later, however, he retained the first speech more decisively; cf. Driver-Gray, op. cit. p. lxiii. For a defence of the retention of the first speech, cf. M. Burrows, *J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 117 ff. Marshall (op. cit. p. 6) rejected these speeches as on an immeasurably higher plane than the dialogue. They were rejected also by Staples, op. cit. pp. 11 f., O. S. Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature*, 1936, p. 93, and earlier by M. Vernes, *R.H.R.* i (1880), 232; while Hölscher (op. cit. p. 55) holds that it is wrong to delete them. For other writers who reject both divine speeches see p. 176 n. 2. C. Kuhl thinks the original work recorded a theophany, but without the divine speeches; cf. *Th.R.*, N.F. xxi (1953), 271 (but cf. *Entstehung des A.Ts.*, 265, where the first speech is accepted and the second rejected). D. B. Macdonald, *J.B.L.* xiv (1895), 69, held that the divine speeches were composed " at an earlier point in the poet's own development, before the problem had assumed for him the complexity and difficulty which it did later ". On the other hand, Sellin, *Introduction to the O.T.*, Eng. trans. by W. Montgomery, 1923, pp. 207 ff., thinks they were added later by the author. More recently Macdonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius*, 1933, pp. 28 ff., assigns the divine speeches to another poet, whose attitude to life was quite different from the author's, and speaks of " the impudence of the argument " of these speeches (p. 29).

would not have inserted his solution of the problem. This does not seem cogent, since without some speech of Yahweh the structure of the book falls to pieces. As has been said, the Elihu speeches can be omitted without affecting the rest of the book. It is less easy to imagine that the book originally ended with chapter xxxi, or with chapter xxxvii, after the Elihu speeches had been added. The speech of Yahweh is the appropriate answer to Job's closing soliloquy, leading to Job's submission and so preparing for the dropping of the curtain in the Epilogue.

As the book now stands, however, there are two speeches by Yahweh. We have already noted that the second is inferior to the first in conception and in brilliance,[1] and after Job has bowed in submission to God a second speech is uncalled for, since it adds nothing essentially new, but merely continues in an inferior way what the first speech had said. Hence the second speech is widely rejected as secondary.[2] This, once more, does not affect

[1] On the first speech cf. Driver, *Introduction*, p. 427 : " The first speech of Jehovah transcends all other descriptions of the wonders of creation or the greatness of the Creator, which are to be found either in the Bible or elsewhere." Similarly Peake, op. cit. p. 43 : " The whole of Yahweh's speech is a sustained effort of the highest genius, unsurpassed in the world's literature." Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, pp. 678 f. says : " Les discours de Yahvé, au point de vue littéraire, sont au moins égaux, en magnificence, en virtuosité verbale, en richesse d'images, aux plus belles pages du dialogue ; ils ont, du reste, exactement le même style. Il est difficile de croire qu'il se soit trouvé un second poète d'une pareille envergure pour retoucher l'œuvre du premier." Cornill took a less appreciative view of the speech and in the second edition of his *Einleitung in das A.T.* (p. 232), described it as one of " unparalleled brutality, which is usually palliated and styled divine irony, but which, under such circumstances and conditions should much rather be termed devilish scorn " (translation of R. H. Strahan, *The Book of Job*, 1913, p. 14 ; this edition of Cornill has not been accessible to the present writer). In the later editions (3rd edn., p. 237 ; 5th edn., 1905, p. 265 = Eng. trans., 1907, p. 427) this language is toned down. H. Ewald (*The Book of Job*, Eng. trans. by J. F. Smith, 1882, p. 294) says " the most suitable manner for these divine speeches is that of irony, which combines with concealed severity and calm superiority the effective and benevolent incisiveness of a higher insight ".

[2] The sections of the second speech dealing with Behemoth and Leviathan were rejected by Ewald, op. cit. pp. 319 ff. ; Dillmann, op. cit. pp. 339 f. ; Cheyne, *E.B.* ii (1901), 2483 ; and many others, including recently J. J. Weber, *Le livre de Job, l'Ecclésiastique*, 1947, p. 15 ; C. Kuhl, *Die Entstehung des A.Ts.*, 1953, p. 265 ; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 2nd edn., p. 562. Budde (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1913, pp. 254 ff.) retains xl. 15- xli. 3 (E.V. 11). Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1934, p. 509, said : " Das eine spätere Hand, dem die beiden Gedichte hierher zu passen

our interpretation of the book as a whole.[1] It has the advantage that it brings together Job's words in xl. 4 f. and xlii. 2-6, thus yielding a single speech of submission.

The poem on wisdom in chapter xxviii is commonly held not to have belonged to this book originally.[2] As it stands it is apparently in the mouth of Job, but it does not fit into the speech he appears to be making, and it is not a reply to the arguments of the previous speaker. But if, as has already been said, part of the preceding chapter is really Zophar's missing speech, then chapter xxviii would follow straight after this, without introduction. Yet it is no more appropriate to Zophar than to Job. The chapter is, indeed, complete in itself. It is a magnificent poem, worthy of the genius of the author of Job, and possibly composed by him,[3] though scarcely for its present place.[4] Its

schienen, sie eingefügt hat, ist verständlich ; dem ursprünglichen Dichter ist es aber schwerlich zuzutrauen, dass er sein Werk mit derartigen Gedichten, die mit seiner eigentlichen Absicht nichts zu tun haben, sondern nur verdunkeln, belastet hätte." This passage does not stand in the second edition. J. Herz, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, iii (1953-4), 111 f., differentiates between the two speeches on stylistic grounds. Behemoth is usually identified with the hippopotamus and Leviathan with the crocodile, but B. D. Eerdmans, *Studies in Job*, 1939, pp. 27 ff., held that Behemoth is the dolphin, while G. R. Driver, in *Studi orientalistici* (Levi della Vida Festschrift), i, 1956. identifies Behemoth with the crocodile and Leviathan with the whale. G. Haas, *B.A.S.O.R.* no. 132, December 1953, pp. 30 ff., draws attention to evidence that the hippopotamus was found in the Israelite coastal area in the Iron Age.

[1] There are many scholars who retain both the divine speeches. So A. Lefèvre, in Pirot's *S.D.B.* iv (1949), 1081 ; H. W. Hertzberg, in *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, pp. 253 ff. ; Lods, op. cit. pp. 678 f.

[2] This chapter is almost universally rejected as secondary, but Junker (op. cit. p. 54) retains it and likens it to the chorus in a Greek tragedy. See also below, p. 192, n. 3. It is rejected by Goettsberger, op. cit. pp. 226 f. as not integral to the original book ; so also by E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Job*, 1939, p. xiii, and E. F. Sutcliffe, *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1953, p. 418.

[3] So Dhorme, op. cit. p. lxxvi ; J. Chaine and A. Robert in Robert-Tricot, *Initiation Biblique*, 3rd edn., 1954, p. 181 ; Pfeiffer, op. cit. p. 671 ; Lods, *Histoire de la littérature héb. et juive*, p. 680. W. Baumgartner, however, will not allow that it is by the same author, though he recognizes a certain affinity of spirit (*O.T.M.S.*, p. 219). H. Duesberg, *Les scribes inspirés*, ii (1939), 156, calls this chapter " petit bloc erratique, situé probablement hors de sa place, mais qui donne le dernier mot du livre ".

[4] A. Lefèvre, in Pirot's *S.D.B.* iv (1949), 1079, defends the retention of this chapter, holding that it marks a pause, indicating that the dialogue is at an end. Similarly E. Brennecke, in Alleman and Flack, *Old Testament Commentary*, 1948,

burden is that in humble reverence towards God and obedience to His will man's truest wisdom is to be found. But this is the position Job reaches after the divine speech, and if he had reached it himself before the Lord spoke, there would have been little reason for the speech of God.[1] We may add that his final soliloquy, in which he cries out once more against God, seems also surprising after this chapter. We may therefore with high probability regard it as a secondary element of the book, even though it is greatly to be prized, and for its preservation we may be very thankful.[2]

While for most of these positions there is broad agreement amongst a number of scholars, with much divergence of detail at some points, it is only fair to say that there are scholars who would challenge them more radically. There are some conservative scholars who still maintain the unity of the whole book.[3] On the other hand there are some who peel off a great deal more than has yet been suggested. Baumgärtel thought that originally

p. 490, retains this chapter, though he rejects the Prologue and Epilogue as older and the Elihu speeches as later. J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, ii (2nd edn., 1944), 168, holds that chapter xxviii is original, and so W. Grossouw and C. Epping, in A. van den Born et al., *Bijbels Woordenboek*, 2nd edn., 1954-57, col. 847, and H. Haag's *Bibel-lexikon*, 1951, col. 825. P. Szczygiel, op. cit. p. 233, retains the chapter but transfers it to follow xlii. 6. S. Davidson, *Introduction to the O.T.*, ii (1863), 202 f., retained xxvii. 7-xxviii. 28 in their present form as integral to the book, though he rejected the Elihu speeches (pp. 204 ff.).

[1] Cf. Ball, op. cit. p. 12.

[2] H. A. Fine, *J.B.L.* lxxiv (1955), 28 ff., argues that chapters xxvii f. form a unit, separable from the rest of the book, preserving the tradition of a patient Job who maintained his uprightness throughout. On this view chapter xxvii is not to be redistributed and transferred in part to Zophar. Whether these chapters are by the author of the main part of the book, or were composed earlier or later than the dialogue, are questions left without answer.

[3] So F. Prat in F. Vigouroux (ed. by), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iii (1903), 1567 f.; L. Bigot, in A. Vacant (ed. by), *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, viii (1947), 1479 ff.; H. Höpfl, *Introductio specialis in V.T.*, 5th edn., revised by A. Miller and A. Metzinger, 1946, pp. 280 f.; E. J. Young, *Introduction to the O.T.*, 1949, p. 313; H. Möller, *Sinn und Aufbau des Buches Hiob*, 1955. Such a view can be found in many older writers, e.g. C. F. Keil, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 3rd edn., 1873, pp. 389 ff. Cf. also P. Humbert, *V.T. Supplements* iii (Rowley Festschrift, 1955), 151 n.: "Nous tentons ici une voie nouvelle, essayant de montrer que les tensions, qui semblent manifester la non-unité du livre, révèlent au contraire une sorte de progression existentielle de l'œuvre conçue comme une unité."

there was a single cycle of speeches, followed by a monologue by Job, fragments of which have survived scattered amongst his speeches in the present second and third cycles.[1] Snaith would go farther, and suggests that in the original form of the book the three friends did not figure at all, so that the verses relating to them in the Prologue and Epilogue, and all their speeches and Job's answers, are to be rejected.[2] The book is thus reduced to the Prologue, a single soliloquy by Job (contained in chapters iii and xxix-xxxi), the first divine speech, Job's submission and the Epilogue. This seems to me quite arbitrary, and an unlikely theory of the origin of a masterpiece. All the serious wrestling in argument with the problem of innocent suffering is torn out of the book, and after the Prologue giving the setting for Job's trial we have but his bitter lament that he had been born and agonised cry to God, and then the divine response and his release. But the nature of the divine speech is scarcely to be understood, save in the light of the things Job has said in his speeches to the friends. It is there that he has impugned the justice of God, and called forth the rebuke of the divine speech, that he has passed judgement on what lies beyond his understanding.

Lindblom, to whose view reference has already been made, also thinks that a simple dialogue originally stood in the book, but that for this a three cycle debate was later substituted.[3] He rejects the Elihu speeches, the wisdom chapter, and the second divine speech, and also, surprisingly, Job's submission in xlii.1-6.[4]

[1] Cf. *Der Hiobdialog*, 1933. A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 4th edn., 1957, p. 235 rejects the views of Baumgärtel. Cf. also J. Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur*, 1930, p. 179; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 2nd edn., pp. 565 ff., 570 f., and Baumgartner, in *O.T.M.S.*, p. 219. Cheyne (*E.B.* ii, 2476) omits xx-xxviii.

[2] Cf. *The Book of Job*, 1945, p. 15. This view is closely similar to that of P. Bertie, *Le poème de Job*, 1929. A. Lods (*Histoire de la littérature héb. et juive*, p. 683) rejects it on the grounds (*a*) that it is *a priori* improbable that the author did not intend to discuss the problem of innocent suffering and (*b*) that the style of the rejected parts is precisely the same as that of the retained parts.

[3] Cf. *Composition*, p. 91.

[4] Ibid. p. 90. C. Siegfried (*J.E.* vii (1907), 199) deleted xlii. 1-6 as secondary. Similarly K. Fullerton (*Z.A.W.* xlii (N.F. i, 1924), 124 f.) says these verses are absolutely opposed to the Dialogue, and B. D. Eerdmans, *Studies in Job*, 1939, p. 18, rejects them. Jastrow thinks there were four epilogues (see above p. 187, n. 1), and also rejects the Elihu speeches and both divine speeches, all of which he thinks were appendices (op. cit. pp. 64 ff.). Further, he holds xxix-xxxi to be

He holds that these last mentioned verses were added after the second divine speech. These verses seem to me, as I shall say, as also to many other scholars, to be vital to the understanding of the book, and to yield an appropriate response of Job to the speech of Yahweh. Without them the only response of Job is found in xl. 4 f., and it amounts simply to the statement that he has nothing more to say. He has found no satisfaction of his tortured spirit. Hence I would align myself more closely with the normal critical view of the problems of the book.

We may therefore briefly review the form of the book as it emerges from our examination.[1] There is the Prologue, followed by Job's opening soliloquy; then three cycles of speeches in which the friends speak in turn, being each answered by Job; then Job's closing soliloquy;[2] then the speech of God from the whirlwind, followed by Job's submission, the two parts of which, now separated, are brought together; and finally the Epilogue. It is complete in its artistry of form, and Job's submission, which closes the poetic part of the work, is, as we should expect it to be, the climax of the book.

Some writers have supposed that the purpose of the book was to solve the mystery of suffering.[3] If this was indeed its purpose

supplementary (p. 70), xxviii to be an addition (ibid.), and also the third cycle of speeches to be secondary (p. 71). Van Hoonacker (*R.B.*, xii (1903), 166) held that there were four editions of the book, the first ending with xxxi, the second adding the speeches of Elihu, the third adding the divine speeches and the Epilogue instead of the Elihu speeches, and the fourth combining the second and the third. G. Studer (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1881, p. 19) held that the book originally consisted of iii-xxxi only, and that the Elihu speeches, the divine speeches, the Prologue and Epilogue, and ch. xxviii were successive additions.

[1] This examination of the structure of the book is a necessary preliminary to the study of its purpose and message. Cf. Buttenwieser, op. cit. p. 4: "A study of the religious significance of the book, if it is to be intelligent and thoroughgoing, must go hand in hand with a careful literary analysis."

[2] On the character of chapter xxxi, as the final speech of Job before the theophany, with its daring oaths as the evidence of Job's consciousness of innocence, cf. S. H. Blank, *J.J.S.* ii (1950-1), 105 ff.

[3] This is implied in the observations of Cornill, *Introduction*, p. 426: "The poet . . . surely must have had a solution of the problem to offer: else he would have been attempting a task that exceeded his strength, and would not deserve to be described as an artist so much as a torturer of humanity, who delights in plunging the knife ever deeper and deeper into the mortal wound." C. Westermann, *Der Aufbau des Buches Hiob*, 1956, thinks the book is less concerned with

it must be pronounced a conspicuous failure. The mystery of suffering is too great and complex to be solved in so short a study, even if any writer thought he could solve it at all. Some of the scholars who have believed this to be the purpose of our author have clung to the Elihu speeches because it is here alone that anything relevant to this subject can be found. I have already said, however, that Elihu's solution is not relevant to this book. That suffering is educative is doubtless sometimes true. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth."[1] But he would be both bold and shallow who supposed that this was the explanation of all suffering. It was certainly not the explanation of Job's, for the reader is told this quite clearly in the Prologue. The dialogue nowhere penetrates the true reason for Job's suffering, and if the purpose of the debate was to solve this problem, it nowhere comes within sight of the solution. The Babylonian sufferer could not divine the explanation of his miseries, and as little could Job and his friends penetrate the reason for his. If this was what the author was interested in, he was but beating the air, and his masterpiece was no more than a futility.

Others have thought the author was only concerned to overthrow the view that all suffering was self-entailed and that rigid justice was done in human affairs.[2] It has even been suggested that this was the orthodox view throughout the Old Testament until the book of Job came to set things right.[3] This rests on a very superficial reading of the Old Testament. The earliest document of the Pentateuch tells how Cain and Abel offered sacrifices to God, and records that Abel's was well-pleasing to God, while Cain's was not.[4] When we read thereafter that Cain murdered Abel, it is plain that the sacred writer did not wish the reader to infer that Abel got but what he deserved. When

the problem of innocent suffering than with man's complaint "Why must I suffer?"

[1] Heb. xii. 6.

[2] Driver, *Introduction*, p. 409, declares this to be the principal aim of the book.

[3] Cf. Meinhold, *Einführung in das A.T.*, 3rd edn., 1932, p. 322; L. W. Batten, *A.T.R.* xv (1933), 126. Cf. also I. G. Matthews, *The Religious Pilgrimage of Israel*, 1947, pp. 171 f., where we are told that the friends of Job reiterated "the time-honoured assumptions of the ancients", while Job "challenged the sacrosanct conclusions of the centuries".

[4] Gen. iv. 4.

Uriah the Hittite was killed by the deliberate design of David, the prophet Nathan came to the king to rebuke him sternly in the name of God.[1] The prophet did not think Uriah deserved what came to him, and the reader of the Bible is not expected to draw that conclusion. This story stands in one of the oldest documents in the Bible, and does not teach the rigid equation of desert and experience. Later the prophet Elijah denounces Ahab for the judicial murder of Naboth, which Jezebel had staged in his name,[2] and again the reader is expected to draw the conclusion that Naboth died innocently. The eighth and seventh century prophets declaimed against the injustice that was rampant in Israel, instead of drying the springs of sympathy by any doctrine that whatever a man got he must have deserved. To suppose that the doctrine enunciated by Job's friends was in any period the accepted orthodox view of Yahwism is to ignore a great deal in the Old Testament.

That it was accepted in some circles is doubtless true. It is to be presumed that these were the circles of the prosperous—who frequently come under the lash of the sacred writers. Some writers have suggested that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were responsible for this doctrine.[3] But again this involves a strange reading of Jeremiah, whose sensitive spirit was more incapable of so perverse a view than the harder spirit of Ezekiel. Jeremiah, whose own mission involved him in acute suffering which caused him to cry out against God with something of the agony of Job,[4] is scarcely likely to have cherished so deluded a view. It was Jeremiah who asked " Wherefore doth the way of the wicked

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff. [2] 1 Kings xxi. 17 ff.

[3] It is frequently maintained that before Jeremiah and Ezekiel the individual was regarded merely as a fragment of the community and hence this problem could not arise. Cf. e.g. Peake, *Jeremiah*, ii, p. 100 : " The doctrine (*sc.* of the solidarity of the community) had affirmed the mutual responsibility of the members of the group which formed its social unit. The individual had but little independent significance " ; C. H. Patterson, *The Philosophy of the O.T.*, 1953, p. 239, where it is said that before Jeremiah the idea " that Yahweh held individuals responsible for their own deeds " had not arisen.

[4] Cf. Jer. xx. 7 ff., and the passages commonly referred to as the " Confessions of Jeremiah " (on which cf. J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, 1922, pp. 201 f. ; E. A. Leslie, *The Intimate Papers of Jeremiah*, 1953 ; J. Leclercq, in *Études sur les prophètes d'Israël* (Lectio Divina 14), 1954, pp. 111 ff.).

prosper ? " [1] and who said of himself " I was like a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter ".[2] He can scarcely be supposed to have enunciated the doctrine expressed by Job's friends.

It is true that in days when men were excusing themselves from any share of responsibility for the misfortunes of their day by quoting the proverb " The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge ", Jeremiah insisted on the measure of their individual responsibility and said " Every one shall die for his own iniquity ".[3] But it is a far cry from this to the thought of Job's friends. In the New Testament we read " Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap " ; [4] but it would be a travesty of the New Testament to say that its teaching is that a man always gets what he deserves, and no intelligent reader of the New Testament could suppose that it teaches that Jesus was crucified because He deserved to be. Nowhere does the Bible teach such a doctrine, for the Bible has no simple solution of the problem of suffering.[5] There are some whose sufferings are self-entailed ; but there are some whose sufferings are not. Jeremiah insisted that some suffering is not innocent ; the book of Job that some is. It is the way of the doctrinaire theologian to wish to reduce the complexity of experience to the simplicity of a single formula. Such were Job's friends ; such was not Jeremiah, who could recognize now innocent suffering, and now suffering that was self-entailed.

It lies beyond our purpose to discuss the date of the book of Job, which has been most variously estimated. It must suffice here to say that it is by most held to be post-exilic,[6] and by many

[1] Jer. xii. 1. [2] Jer. xi. 19. [3] Jer. xxxi. 30.
[4] Gal. vi. 7. [5] Cf. Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 409 f.

[6] Older writers thought of the patriarchal age or the time of Moses, but these are now universally dismissed. The age of Solomon is still accepted by E. J. Young, *Introduction to the O.T.*, 1949, p. 309. F. Prat, in Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iii (1903), 1567, dates the book between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, and E. W. Hengstenberg (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1870, p. 62), before the time of Amos ; A. Merx (*Das Gedicht von Hiob*, 1871, p. xlii ; cf. D. Schenkel (ed. by), *Bibel-Lexikon*, iii (1871), 100) favoured a date *circa* 700 B.C. ; O. Zöckler, in Lange's Commentary, O.T. vii (Eng. trans. by Ll. J. Evans), 252, suggested that Hezekiah was the author ; de Wette (op. cit. ii, 570), Ewald (op. cit. p. 82), J. G. Stickel (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1842, p. 261), F. Bleek (*Introduction to the O.T.*, Eng. trans. by E. Venables, ii (1894), 286), S. Davidson (*Introduction to the O.T.*,

to date from about 400 B.C.[1] It is probable that the perverse doctrine enunciated by Job's friends rested on the application of the individualism of one side of the teaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel to the Deuteronomic doctrine of national merit and

ii (1863), 195 ff.), early in the seventh century; E. König (op. cit. pp. 495 f.), H. Gunkel (*R.G.G.* iii (1912), 47 f.), J. Goettsberger (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1928, p. 229), and J. E. Steinmueller (*A Companion to Scripture Studies*, ii (2nd edn., 1944), 165), the age of Jeremiah; Pfeiffer (op. cit. pp. 675 ff.) dates the Prologue and Epilogue not earlier than the sixth century, but the poetic parts of the book between 700 and 200 B.C., but probably in the time of Jeremiah; E. C. S. Gibson (*The Book of Job*, 1899, p. xxii), N. H. Tur-Sinai (*The Book of Job*, 1957, pp. xxxvi f.), date the work in the period of the late monarchy or exile; Sellin (*Introduction*, 1923, p. 222; but cf. *Einleitung*, 7th edn., 1935, p. 145, where the range is given as 600-300 B.C.) between 600 and 450 B.C.; Dillmann (op. cit. pp. xxix ff.), A. B. Davidson (*The Book of Job*, 1884, p. lxvii), and Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 74; but cf. *E.B.* ii (1903), 2385 ff., where the date is brought down to the Persian period) in the time of the exile; Driver (*Introduction*, p. 431) during or shortly after the Babylonian captivity; J. P. Naish (*Expositor*, 9th ser., iii (1925), 34 ff., 94 ff.) in the early post-exilic period, holding the author to be a disciple of Deutero-Isaiah; L. Gautier (*Introduction à l'A.T.*, ii (1914), 120) and Ball (op. cit. pp. 31 ff.), in the Persian period; A. Lefèvre (in Pirot's *S.D.B.* iv (1949), 1075) in the first century of the Persian period; E. F. Sutcliffe (*Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 421), *circa* 500 B.C.; Duhm (op. cit. p. ix), Dhorme (op. cit. p. cxxxv), J. J. Weber (op. cit. p. 17), and Chaine and Robert (op. cit. p. 185) between 500 and 450 B.C.; R. H. Strahan (*The Book of Job*, 1913, pp. 18 f.) and C. F. Kent (*The Growth and Contents of the O.T.*, 1926, p. 291) about 450 B.C.; G. F. Moore (*The Literature of the O.T.*, 1913, p. 248), Gray (in Driver-Gray, op. cit. pp. lxv ff.), L. H. K. Bleeker (*Job*, 1926, p. 8), and Haag's *Bibel-lexikon* (1951, col. 825), in the fifth century; L. Bigot (in Vacant, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, viii (1947), 1483) and H. Lusseau (in Robert-Feuillet, *Introduction à la Bible*, i (1957), 652) in the latter part of the fifth century; A. Weiser (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, 4th edn., 1957, p. 236, and *Das Buch Hiob*, 2nd edn., 1956, p. 13) between the fifth and the third century; J. E. McFadyen (*Introduction to the O.T.*, new edn., 1932, p. 319) between 450 and 350 B.C.; H. Creelman (*Introduction to the O.T.*, 1927, p. 239) *circa* 350 B.C.; T. K. Cheyne (*E.B.* ii (1901), 2489), C. Steuernagel (*Einleitung in das A.T.* 1912, p. 710), O. Eissfeldt (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, 2nd. edn., p. 578), L. Finkelstein (in *The Pharisees*, i (1938), 231), in the fourth century; G. Hölscher (op. cit. p. 7) and A. Lods (*Histoire de la littérature héb. et juive*, p. 689), between 400 and 200 B.C.; Volz (*S.A.T.* III, ii (1911), 26), *circa* 300 B.C.; H. Holtzmann (in Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1888), 351 f.) in the third century; C. Siegfried (*J.E.* vii (1907), 197), a date in the second century B.C., or even later (suggesting that Job xv. 20 ff. may possibly be an allusion to Alexander Jannaeus).

[1] So Budde (*Das Buch Hiob*, p. liii), Peake (op. cit. p. 40), J. A. Bewer (*The Literature of the O.T.*, 1922, p. 317), Buttenwieser (op. cit. pp. 70 ff.), M. Jastrow (op. cit. p. 36), H. Junker (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1951, p. 7), A. Lods (*La Bible du Centenaire*, iii (1947), p. xiii, and *Histoire de la littérature héb. et juive*, p. 688).

fortune. Deuteronomy had sought to inculcate national loyalty to Yahweh by promising abounding prosperity in days of loyalty and dire misfortune in days of disloyalty. With the greater emphasis on the individual which Jeremiah and Ezekiel brought—which can be recognized without forgetting that this was not the whole of their teaching—this may well have led in some circles to the wooden view held by Job's friends. They cherished the thought that a man's experience reflected his character, and we see as the argument proceeds how this steadily dries the springs of sympathy. When Eliphaz speaks at first he has a measure of sympathy for Job.[1] Ranston describes him as one who had " something of the prophet about him, intense in religious conviction, a mystic recipient of heavenly visions ".[2] He supposes that Job has somehow brought his troubles on himself, but he is sorry for him and tries to give him counsel that will bring him to fortune again. For Job all the pity is vitiated by the tacit condemnation which he feels to be undeserved. As the debate continues the friends rebuke Job in severer terms, and we increasingly feel how the thought that the unfortunate must be the wicked hardens the spirit of the man who entertains it. Bildad has been described as a traditionalist.[3] He knows all the clichés, and is as lacking in sympathy as he is in any originality of mind.[4] Zophar is said by Marshall to be the philosopher of the three,[5] and with this view Peake substantially agrees.[6] But he has the harshest spirit and the sharpest tongue of the three, and displays a dogmatism that perhaps proclaims his youth. One purpose of the book of Job is certainly to protest against the idea that misfortune is the evidence of sin, and to affirm that there is a problem of innocent suffering. But this is not where the author's

[1] Cf. Davidson, *The Book of Job*, 1884, p. 41 : " The speech of Eliphaz is one of the masterpieces of the book ", marked by " great delicacy and consideration " (p. 31), " very wise and considerate as well as profoundly reverential " (p. 35). H. L. Ginsberg, *Leshonenu*, xxi (1956-7), 262 f., holds that the vision attributed to Eliphaz in iv. 12-20 should really be ascribed to Job, since in xxxiii. 6 Elihu refers to iv. 19 in addressing Job.

[2] Cf. *The O.T. Wisdom Books*, 1930, p. 139. [3] Ibid. p. 140.

[4] W. A. Irwin, *Z.A.W.* li (N.F. x, 1933), 205 ff., holds that Bildad does not espouse this shallow philosophy that misfortune is the proof of ungodliness.

[5] Op. cit. p. 67. [6] Op. cit. p. 125.

originality is to be found. In this he is but reaffirming what is to be found in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms.

The author of our book was concerned less with theology than with religion. So far as any theological or philosophical explanation of the mystery of suffering is concerned, he has none to offer. The reader is told the explanation in Job's case, but that was necessary in order to establish that Job was really an innocent sufferer. Neither Job nor his friends can deduce the reason, and when God speaks from the whirlwind to Job he does not disclose it. Had he done so, the book would immediately have lost its meaning for those who suffer. For men must suffer in the dark, and a Job who was not left in the dark would have had no message for others. It is true that God spoke to Job from heaven, whereas no such voice comes to us. But the voice brought no new revelation of truth, but merely reminded Job of what he could have perceived for himself. It merely reminded him of the unfathomable wonders of creation, and made him realize that there are mysteries beyond human penetration. To say this is not to suggest that theology and philosophy are futile disciplines. There are secrets of Nature that man cannot penetrate ; but this does not mean that scientists ought not to investigate Nature. There are mysteries of experience that neither theology nor philosophy can fully elucidate ; but this does not mean that the human spirit should not wrestle with the problems. But what the book of Job says is that there is something more fundamental than the intellectual solution of life's mysteries. The author has a message for the spirit rather than for the intellect. He is no academic writer [1] addressing himself to the select few profound thinkers. He knows that intellectual giants are few, but that all men have a spirit, and that all may suffer. When one is suffering it may be good to understand the cause ; but it is better to be sustained to endure.

[1] Several writers have suggested that the author was personally involved in the problem, and that the book was born of his own experience. Cf. Buttenwieser, op. cit. p. 3 ; O. J. Baab, *Interpretation*, v (1951), 336. Some have thought that it was the national experience of his people which inspired the work. Cf. Zöckler, op. cit. pp. 238 f. ; Strahan, op. cit. pp. 15 ff. ; Davidson-Lanchester, op. cit. p. xxix H. Ranston, op. cit. p. 167. Of this, however, there seems little evidence.

We may pause to note that the cause of Job's suffering was more than the Satan's insinuation against him. He was suffering to vindicate more than himself. He was vindicating God's trust in him. He was not so much abandoned by God as supremely honoured by God. The author does not, of course, suggest that this is always the reason for undeserved suffering. He is not so foolish as to imply that a single cause covers all cases, and so far from wishing the reader to deduce that this is always the case, he wishes to make it plain that the actual cause in any given case cannot be deduced by man. The cause or reason for the suffering is hidden in the heart of God. In the case of Job it was not unworthy of God—or of Job. It was the expression of God's confidence in him, and by his very suffering he was serving God. Yet Job could never know this. To the reader, then, the author is saying that when suffering comes undeserved, while he can never guess its explanation he may face it with trust that if he could know the cause, he too might find that he was serving God and was honoured in his very agony.

I have said that there is an inner conflict in the mind of Job. While he repudiates the view of the friends that his suffering proves his sin, he yet has the ever lurking feeling that this ought to be so. He cannot wholly extricate himself from their ideas, and therefore he cannot extricate himself from the consequence of those ideas. Where suffering is believed to be the effect of sin, it is the evidence of a man's isolation from God, since sin is isolation from God. At the beginning of the Bible we find that when Adam sinned he was thrust out from the Garden of Eden.[1] But before he was thrust out and the angel set to guard the gate, Adam had hidden himself from God.[2] He was conscious that his sin had come between him and God and had erected a barrier. Here in this early story, which we so easily characterize as primitive and childish, there is a profound perception of the nature of sin. It separates a man from God. If then suffering is thought to be the evidence of sin, it is by the same token the evidence that the sufferer is cut off from God. And this is what Job feels, despite all his protests. He still tries to cling to God and appeals to the God he has known ; but he feels he

[1] Gen. iii. 23 f. [2] Gen. iii. 8.

cannot get at God and all his appeals are but carried away on the wind.

By insisting that there is such a thing as innocent suffering the author of Job is bringing a message of the first importance to the sufferer. The hardest part of his suffering need not be the feeling that he is deserted by God, or the fear that all men will regard him as cast out from God's presence. If his suffering may be innocent it may not spell isolation from God, and when he most needs the sustaining presence of God he may still have it. Here is a religious message of great significance, and it is by his religious message, which matches the magnificence of his literary gift, that the author of our book created his masterpiece.

It is this which is brought out in the closing verses of the poetical portion of the book, in which Job bows himself in submission before God. " I had heard of thee with the hearing of the ear " he cries, " but now mine eye seeth thee ; wherefore I repent and abhor myself in dust and ashes."[1] He does not repent of any sin which had brought his trial upon him. On that issue he is vindicated as against the friends. He repents of the charges he has brought against God, and of the doubts he has entertained. More significant is his recognition that with all the loss and the pain he had suffered, he had gained something even from his agony. In his prosperity he thought he had known God. Now he realizes that compared with his former knowledge his present knowledge is as the joy of seeing compared with a mere rumour. All his past experience of God was as nothing compared with the experience he had now found. He therefore no longer cries out to God to be delivered from his suffering. He rests in God even in his pain.[2]

This is not to explain the meaning of suffering. It is to declare to the reader that even such bitter agony as Job endured

[1] Job xlii. 5 f. B. Kennicott, *Remarks on Select Passages in the O.T.*, 1787, p. 160, strangely renders this verse : " Wherefore am I become thus loathsome and am scorched up, upon dust and ashes ? " He also transferred xl. 1-14 to follow xlii. 6 (pp. 161 ff.).

[2] Cf. G. A. Barton, *J.B.L.* xxx (1911), 67 : " He has pictured Job as finding the solution of his problem, not in a reasoned explanation or a theology, but in a religious experience. . . . His hero, Job, finds his satisfaction in a first-hand experience of God."

may be turned to spiritual profit if he finds God in it. This is to be distinguished from the thought of the Elihu speeches. Elihu supposed that the suffering itself was disciplinary. Here is no thought that the suffering is itself enriching. Rather is it that the fellowship of God is enriching, and that that fellowship may be found in adversity no less than in prosperity.

Many writers have suggested that the failure of the book to solve the problem of suffering is to be set in contrast to the Christian message.[1] It is supposed that for a fuller answer to the problem it was necessary to wait until a better doctrine of the Afterlife had been attained than Job knew. There are many passages in which the book of Job shows no advance on the thought of the Afterlife which the author's contemporaries cherished. Sheol is thought of as a place where good and bad alike go, where man is shut off from God and in ignorance of the fortunes of his family, and where he is conscious only of his misery.[2] It is true that Job longs for death, and speaks of Sheol as something to be desired, in comparison with his present misery.[3] But that is only his eloquent way of indicating the depth of his misery, and not his way of suggesting that after death any existence that was desirable in itself was to be hoped for. In one familiar passage he has been supposed to attain a faith in a more worthwhile Afterlife. As translated in the Authorized Version the passage runs: "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."[4] In fact this is one of the most cryptic passages in the book, and both text and interpretation are far from sure.[5] Some scholars emend the text to take out all

[1] Cf. G. F. Oehler, *Theology of the O.T.*, Eng. trans. by G. E. Day, Zondervan Press reprint edition, p. 565: "The hope which here (sc. in Job xix. 25-27) flashes for a moment like lightning through the darkness of temptation, is as yet no mature faith in a happy and eternal life after death, and consequently does not furnish a solution to the enigmas with which the book is occupied." Cf. also J. E. McFadyen, op. cit. p. 306; H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Cross in the O.T.*, 1955, p. 48; T. H. Robinson, *Job and His Friends*, 1954, p. 124.

[2] Cf. Job iii. 17, x. 21 f., xiv. 21 f. [3] Cf. Job iii. 13. [4] Job xix. 25-27.

[5] For the history of the interpretation of these verses cf. J. Speer, *Z.A.W.* xxv (1905), 47 ff. A brief selection of recent translations will sufficiently indicate the

difficulties of the text and the caution that is necessary in building upon it. Kraeling (op. cit. pp. 87 f.) renders: "But I myself know that my redeemer liveth, And as the last one on the dust (i.e. the ground) he will arise. And after (the loss of) my skin that they have thus torn, And bereft of my flesh I shall see God, Whom I shall see on my side, and mine eyes shall behold, And not as an adversary. (My reins are consumed within me)"; G. Hölscher (op. cit. p. 46): "Ich weiss, es lebt mir ein Verteid'ger, und nachmals tritt er auf Erden auf; Dann, ob meine Haut auch so zerschlagen, werd' ich doch ohne mein Fleisch Gott schau'n; Ihn, den ich selber schauen werde, den meine Augen, kein Fremder sehn; Meine Nieren schmachten in meinem Innern"; Oesterley and Robinson (*Hebrew Religion*, 2nd edn., 1937, p. 355 ff.): "But I know that my vindicator so liveth, And as the last one upon the earth will he stand up. And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, Away from my body shall I see God, Whom I shall see on my side, and not another. And mine eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger. My reins are consumed within me"; Kissane, *The Book of Job*, pp. 114 ff.: "And I know that my Defender liveth, And the Eternal will stand forth on the dust; And after my skin is stripped off, did I but see Him, Without my flesh were I to behold God, He whom I should see would be on my side, And whom my eyes should behold would not be estranged. My reins are consumed within me." Larcher (*Le livre de Job*, 1950, 95 f.; cf. pp. 27 ff.): "Je sais, moi, que mon défenseur est vivant, que Lui, le dernier, se dressera sur terre. Une fois ma peau détruite, je l'apercevrai, hors de ma chair, je verrai Dieu. Celui que je verrai sera pour moi, à mes yeux, il n'apparaîtra plus indifférent. Et mes reins en moi se consument"; E. F. Sutcliffe (*Providence and Suffering in the O. and N.T.*, 1955, p. 115; cf. also *Biblica*, xxxi (1950), 377): "I know that my redeemer liveth, And that my warrant will stand upon the earth. Should my skin be torn from my flesh, Even after this I shall see God, Whom I shall see and mine eyes behold" (xix. 25 f. only); T. J. Meek (*V.T.* vi (1956), 101): "But I know myself that my vindicator lives, And coming later, he will stand up on the dust; And even after this skin of mine has been striken (*sic*? struck) off, In my own flesh I shall see God, Whom I myself shall see, And my own eyes shall behold, and not some stranger; My emotions are spent within me"; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob*, 2nd edn., 1956, p. 141: "Doch ich, ich weiss: Es lebt mein Löser; zuletzt erscheint er auf dem Staub; und ohne mein Haut, die so zerfetzt, ohne mein Fleisch werd' ich Gott schauen. Ihn werd' ich schauen mir (zum Heil); mein eigen Aug', kein Anderer, wird ihn sehen. Mein Herz schmachtet (danach) in meiner Brust"; F. Stier, *Das Buch Ijjob*, 1954, p. 96: "Ich aber weiss: Mein Löser lebt, steht auf als Letzter überm Staub. Und dann mein Helfer sich aufrichtet, meinen Zeugen schau ich: Gott. Ich gewahr, ich selber schaue, meine Augen sehn ihn, nimmer fremd—die Nieren mir vergehn im Leib"; N. H. Tur-Sinai (*The Book of Job*, 1957, pp. 304 ff.): "Yet I, I want to know my redeemer while alive—but he who cometh later will stand at my dust. After my body let them break it up! Out of my flesh I want to see (my) God, Whom I shall see for myself, mine eyes shall behold and not another. For this my reins go out within me." With these renderings it is instructive to compare that of B. Kennicott, *Remarks on Select Passages in the O.T.*, 1787: "For I know that my Vindicator liveth; and He, at the last, shall arise over this dust. And after that mine adversaries have mangled me thus, even in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see on my side; and mine eyes shall behold, but not estranged from me:

suggestion of an Afterlife,[1] while others emend it to make the suggestion much clearer.[2] Neither course seems to me to be justified. Professor Snaith says these verses "can be made to refer to life after death only by a most liberal latitude in translation, a strong attachment to the Latin version, and reminiscences of Handel's Messiah. The Hebrew text is difficult, but it is unlikely that the vindicator is God, and Job almost certainly means that he will be vindicated before he is dead."[3] Peake observes: "The hope of immortality is not expressed here, but only of a momentary vision of God, assuring him of vindication."[4]

While it must be agreed that the words are ambiguous, I think it is possible that the author is here reaching out after something more satisfying than the dreary doctrine of Sheol reflected elsewhere in his book. But he has not securely grasped it.[5] Here is no clear faith in a worthwhile Afterlife, but at the best the belief that God will one day vindicate him and that he will be conscious of that vindication. Yet having said this, I would return to say that no faith in an Afterlife can touch the problem with which the book of Job is concerned. The problem of suffering is as real a problem today as it was in the days of our author, and Christian theology is as impotent as Jewish to solve it.[6]

all this have I made up in mine own bosom." On these verses, cf. also A. B. Davidson, *The Book of Job*, 1884, pp. 291 ff.; J. Royer, *Die Eschatologie des Buches Job*, 1892, pp. 86 ff.; S. Mowinckel in *Vom A.T.* (Marti Festschrift), 1925, pp. 207 ff.; H. Rongy, *Revue Ecclésiastique de Liége*, xxv (1933), 25 ff.; G. Hölscher, *Z.A.W.* liii (N.F. xii, 1935), 277 ff. (where the passage is studied in connection with Jubilees xxiii. 30 f.); J. Lindblom, *Studia Theologica* II (Riga), 1940, pp. 65 ff.; W. B. Stevenson, *The Poem of Job*, 1947, pp. 93 ff.; L. Waterman *J.B.L.* lxix (1950), 379 ff.; W. B. Stevenson, *Critical Notes of the Hebrew Text of the Poem of Job*, 1951, pp. 86 ff. M. Vernes (*R.H.R.* i (1880), 232) dismissed xix. 25-29 as an interpolation.

[1] So Ball, op. cit. pp. 276 ff.

[2] So Dhorme, op. cit. pp. 256 ff. Cf. Larcher, op. cit. p. 96.

[3] Cf. *The Distinctive Ideas of the O.T.*, 1944, p. 90 n.

[4] Op. cit. p. 192.

[5] Cf. the present writer's *Faith of Israel*, 1956, p. 165; cf. also Ranston, op. cit. p. 160, and Davidson, op. cit. p. 293: "This principle, grasped with convulsive earnestness in the prospect of death, became the Hebrew doctrine of Immortality."

[6] Cf. Rabbi Yannai (third cent. A.D.): "It is not in our power to explain the well-being of the wicked or the sorrow of the righteous" (Pirqe Aboth iv. 15, translation of H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, 1933, p. 454).

It is sometimes thought that the faith that beyond this life there is another where the injustices and inequalities of this life may be rectified offers an answer to the problem. In truth it offers none. When the wicked is seen to prosper, it may be possible to find some comfort in the thought of what lies before him in the next world—though this is not a very exalted comfort. When the pious is seen to suffer, it may be possible to find some comfort in the thought of the bliss that awaits him hereafter. But this can offer no possible explanation of his present sufferings. The book of Job is far more profound in its message that here and now the pious sufferer has no reason to envy the prosperous wicked. The wicked may have his prosperity, but the pious may have God; and in God he has far more than the other. The inequalities of life belong to man's outer lot; but this is immaterial to his spiritual life.

This is already apparent in the story of Joseph, told in the most ancient document of the Pentateuch. "The Lord was with Joseph",[1] and therefore he could face alternate adversity and prosperity in serenity of spirit. And when we come to the New Testament we find that it cannot advance beyond this. St. Paul was a Pharisee before he became a Christian, and as a Pharisee he already believed in the resurrection.[2] He continued to hold that belief after he became a Christian. But it brought him no relevant message in suffering. He suffered from some acute malady, that brought him agonizing pain—so agonizing that at times he cried out to be delivered from it. He does not appear to have found any consolation in thinking of the next world. He says: "Concerning this thing I cried unto the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he hath said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore" cries Paul, "will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me".[3] Here we see that Paul ceases to cry out for deliverance from his suffering, but finds enrichment in his suffering, so that he comes to rejoice in the suffering itself because it has brought him a new experience of the grace of God. This is fundamentally the same as we have found in the book of

[1] Gen. xxxix. 2, 21. [2] Acts xxii. 3, xxiv. 21. [3] 2 Cor. xii 8 ff.

Job. It falls far short of an intellectual solution of the problem of suffering. But it achieves the spiritual miracle of the wresting of profit from the suffering through the enrichment of the fellowship of God. It was in this that the author of the book of Job was interested and to this that he leads the reader.

CARLYLE'S LETTERS TO RUSKIN: A FINDING LIST WITH SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND COMMENTS [1]

By CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS, B.Ph., M.A., Ph.D.
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT DUKE UNIVERSITY, NORTH CAROLINA

JUST when, where, and how Carlyle and Ruskin first met has been very difficult to determine.[2] Ruskin read *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, a book which was to influence him profoundly throughout the rest of his life, at Chamonix in the late summer of 1842.[3] The next year he read *Past and Present*, which probably made an even deeper impression.[4] *Cromwell* (1845) he certainly must have read eagerly soon after its publication. We know that he was a devoted and approving reader of the highly controversial *Latter-Day Pamphlets* when they appeared in 1850.[5] But

[1] My purpose here is to examine Carlyle's letters to Ruskin and to look at Ruskin through Carlyle's eyes; in a later study I hope to examine Ruskin's letters to Carlyle and to look at Carlyle through Ruskin's eyes. For help in dealing with textual problems I am indebted to Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts, The John Rylands Library; Mr. J. S. Ritchie, Manuscript Department, National Library of Scotland; Mr. Thomas M. Simkins, Jr., Curator of the Rare Book Room, Duke University Library; and Mr. Marvin Singleton, my research assistant. I also wish to thank Professor Edward Robertson, Librarian, The John Rylands Library; Mr. Robert F. Metzdorf, Curator of Manuscripts, Yale University Library; Miss Carolyn E. Jakeman and Miss Alix Hawkins of the Houghton Library, Harvard University; and Mrs. Henrietta Strong, The Carlyle House, Chelsea, for their co-operation and kindness.

[2] The best guess which I can make is that they met at a Rogers breakfast or one of John Forster's dinners in April or May of 1850. See Derrick Leon, *Ruskin the Great Victorian* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 134; John Ruskin, *Works*, ed. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London: George Allen; New York: Longmans, Green, 1909), ix, p. xxxi; and E. T. Cook, *The Life of John Ruskin* (London: George Allen, 1912), i. 283.

[3] Ruskin, *Works*, iii, p. xxiv; Joan Evans, *John Ruskin* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), pp. 83, 422.

[4] See Ruskin's letters to George Richmond, February 1881, and 20 May 1881. *Works*, xxxvii, 341, 36.

[5] Evans, p. 180. *Sartor Resartus*, too, Ruskin admired greatly and read many times.

had he, in the meantime, met Carlyle and begun to form a friendship with him?

When the young Duke of Weimar called on Carlyle at Chelsea in late June 1847, he saw an engraving by Dürer of the Elector Frederick the Wise which, according to Carlyle's nephew and editor Alexander Carlyle, had been given to him by John Ruskin.[1] Cook and Wedderburn, in their magnificent edition of Ruskin's *Works*, place the beginning of the friendship between Ruskin and Carlyle in the winter of 1849-50.[2] The first actual glimpse that we have of the two men together, however, despite circumstantial evidence suggesting earlier meetings, dates in early July 1850. On 6 July John Welsh, son of Mrs. Carlyle's Uncle George, wrote in his journal that he had recently seen Ruskin and his pretty wife at the Carlyle's and that Ruskin had tried hard to draw out Carlyle's views on religion.[3] On 18 December 1850 Carlyle himself wrote to his brother John: "[We had here recently] Ruskin and Wife, of the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, a small but rather dainty dilettante soul, of the Scotch-Cockney breed."[4] Ruskin's diaries do not reveal a meeting earlier than the summer of 1850. The first letter from Carlyle to Ruskin that I have found dates after 1850.

Of the thirty-six letters dealt with below, nineteen are published here for the first time. Eighteen of the nineteen were written by Thomas Carlyle and one by Jane Welsh Carlyle; five of those by Carlyle are addressed to Ruskin's father, John James Ruskin. Nine of the original letters among the nineteen are in the Yale University Library, eight in the John Rylands Library, and two in the National Library of Scotland. Yale has the original of another letter, listed below, which has been published previously. The list of thirty-six letters includes two of which I have found traces but not the whereabouts of the originals.

[1] D. A. Wilson, *Life of Carlyle*, 6 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1923-34), iii. 383.

[2] ix, p. xxxi.

[3] Leonard Huxley, ed., "Letters from Jane Welsh Carlyle", *Cornhill Magazine*, n.s. lxi (November 1926), 629.

[4] From the original letter in the National Library of Scotland, 513-65.

Letter 1. Chelsea, 9 March 1851. Published.[1] Praises *The Stones of Venice* (Vol. I) and *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds.*

Between Letter 1 and Letter 2 lies a gap of almost four years, suggesting that other letters may have been written in this period which have not been found. Certainly the Carlyles were taking an active interest in the Ruskins and their somewhat turbulent affairs. On 12 August 1852 Carlyle in Scotland wrote to Lady Airlie that a letter from Jane had contained a rumor of two robberies on the Continent: Thackeray had lost a purse containing £100, and valuable jewels had been stolen from Mrs. Ruskin in Venice, stolen, in Carlyle's words, from "pretty Mrs. Ruskin, one of the daintiest Scotchwomen married to a '*Prince* of Criticism', and I doubt not valuable jewels, for they are rich and she is bright and gay." The newspapers, he adds, are mischievously heading the story "The Stones of Venice".[2] Both Carlyles were naturally interested when the Ruskin marriage was annulled in July 1854.[3]

Letter 2. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/1. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 23 Jan^{y} 1855

Dear Ruskin,

It has been a thousand times a sorrow in my thoughts that I have not seen you all this time; and the worse as I partly had to give myself the blame of it. I got your sumptuous and excellent Gift (Stones of Venice II and III to add to Vol. I); and never had the grace to utter one word of acknowledgement (I do suspect and believe) manifold thoughts and emotions to that effect as I necessarily had! Sinner that I am,—heavyladen bewildered sinner; not willing one, no;—whom, in your goodness, and candour of merciful judgement, you cannot but forgive!—

The truth is, I have been eclipsed into nearly utter darkness this long while, by Prussian dust and other sore [?] sufferings hard and tender; and have done very little except diligently hold my peace, in hope of better days,—wh^{h} in some matters takes a good deal of doing.

If you will really come and see me any evening or day (especially after half-past 3,—or otherwise giving warning before), it will be a chosen mercy to me, I

[1] In W. G. Collingwood, *The Life and Work of John Ruskin* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), i. 151-2. (References to Collingwood below are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.)

[2] From the unpublished original in the Houghton Library, Harvard.

[3] The best comment is that of Mrs. Carlyle in her letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 9 May 1854. *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, ed. A. Carlyle (London and New York: John Lane, 1903), pp. 76-7.

can answer you. The view of a sincere human soul, even without thought in it, is like music to me ; how much more if there is an opulence of human thoughts and cheery ingenuities and socialities in it !

We have tea every ev^g (hardly ever out) about half past 7. If I had a horse,—nay if I had not a lame foot at present (thanks to the genus Sutor citra crepidam, with quack Sutor powerless to make a real shoe !) I w^d come to Denmark Hill myself, in a hurry, and seek you out.—Manage to come, speedily, if you will do me a most welcome kindness.

Yours truly
T. Carlyle

Carlyle's next letter, written just a few months later, reflects his disapproval of the Crimean War. He favoured the Russians and disliked the Turks.

Letter 3. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/2. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 23 May 1855

Dear Ruskin,

There is clearly nothing to be made of that Grampus Wake.[1] The leather jerkin of George Fox has buttoned him up from the sight of Sun and Moon. We (that is, you) fairly offered him human help, if he would have had it.

I am very sorry to hear of your coughing and continued sickliness. Be patient, quiet ;—this is a monition to you to take more time ! My impression generally has been that you go too fast ; in many senses, this ;—and that you will have to learn the other side of the business too,—what infinite profit there occasionally is in sitting absolutely down (were it even in a desperate mood, on hest of inexorable necessity), and doing nothing. This is very true ; and I hope you will learn to believe it :—at all events, act upon it at present, on trust ; and be loyal to the idle Summer Air, till that has set you on your feet again.[2]

Some afternoon, were you once home, you must come out hither, and take me to your place ; I will wander about with you till night ; and not fail to make my way back on my own resources. That, I suppose might answer ? To myself it would be a pleasant half holiday ; a pause in the sandy wilderness on reaching some convenient stopping-place. Keep it in your eye.

[1] This seems to be a reference to Henry T. Wake, an engraver at the East and West Indies Docks, with whom both Carlyle and Ruskin corresponded (a letter to him of 27 April 1857 with the name on the envelope written by Carlyle and the address written by Ruskin is preserved at the Carlyle House, Chelsea). In Carlyle's five other letters to him which I have seen I find no hint of his being a Quaker or of any difficulty which would have caused Carlyle to call him a Grampus (fish of the dolphin family). He designed Carlyle's bookplate in the autumn of 1853.

[2] A favourite doctrine with Carlyle, to be considered along with his dynamic doctrine of work. He gave John Sterling the same advice in the years before his death.

My Prussian affairs are as bad almost as Balaklava ; and indeed resemble that notable Enterprise of the Turk War in several respects,—in this especially, that I had no business at all to concern myself in such an adventure, with such associates ; and that a good result to it does not seem (for most part) so much as possible ! " The longer you look at it," as Sir John Burgoyne says, " the less you see your way through it." Really my own experience ought to teach me pity and some touches of forgiveness towards the poor Noodles who are professing to lead armies out there, and publishing the shame of England, at home and abroad, in too sad a manner ! They too are willing to die mutely in the mud, and so expiate their Noodlism in some small degree. A thing worth being laid to heart, by certain others of us !—

Don't quarrel with Tunbridge ! I remember it as a place of airy expanses and respectable chalk-hills ; where at least the winds blow free about one. Take thankfully what it offers ; and let us see you home again, soon, and in sound worthy condition.

Yours ever truly,
T. Carlyle

The genuine pleasure which Carlyle found in Ruskin's company is shown in a letter written a little over a month later. This letter also gives interesting details about Carlyle's daily routine.

Letter 4. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/3. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 29 June 1855

Dear Ruskin,

The wife when consulted says Thursday or Wednesday ; let it therefore be Wednesday or Thursday, at your discretion, next week.

Of the times etc. I say nothing ; only put down, by way of guidepost, on my side of the Border, the following facts :

1. Work ceases with me about 3-1/2 in the afternoon, so that if left till towards that time, an adventure does not cost me anything ;—tho' I am willing to spend, too, on a good adventure.

2. I taste no food between breakfast and dinner ; dine, with convenience (provided it be with simplicity, on something like a mutton chop), at any hour between 5-1/2 and 7-1/2.

3. We should like to be home not later than 11 ; and are capable of shifting easily in that particular.

Arrange all these things as seems good on your side of the Border ; and please send us a line to say how they are settled,—I mean what the hour of your appearance here is.

[Signature cut out]

Carlyle's letter to his brother John of 27 November 1855 contains both an appraisal of Ruskin and hearsay about the former Mrs. Ruskin :

Ruskin was here the other night :—a bottle of beautiful soda-water,—something like Rait [1] of old times, only with an intellect of tenfold vivacity. He is very pleasant company now and then. A singular element,—very curious to look upon,—in the present puddle of the intellectual artistic so-called " world " in these parts at this date. His wife, I hear, with her new Husband, is or was at William Stirling's, enjoying the hospitalities of Keir,—more power to them. Ruskin is as cheerful as if there had been no marriage invented among mankind.[2]

Carlyle's next letter to Ruskin concerns a fund which the two men, with Macaulay, John Forster, Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and others, were raising by subscription in order to rescue from poverty two old ladies, the Misses Lowe, one of whom was the goddaughter of Dr. Samuel Johnson, always a hero of literature to Carlyle. Ruskin had agreed to make an annual gift in addition to the income from the subscription fund.

Letter 5. Original in the National Library of Scotland, 1796/93. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 6 December 1855

Dear Ruskin,

Many thanks. This is abundantly all that could be wished,—for certain, all that I ever did wish,—and I think it must satisfy Forster himself; to whom I now send your announcement, with charge to make it known in the way most advantageous and least offensive. And may the Heavens reward you (as I have no doubt they will, in their own fashion) for your piety to the Manes of Turner, and compassion for the straits of those old women.

For the rest you must undertake the bestowal of your Annual Bounty yourself: the sole reward I claim in reference to these poor Misses Lowe is that, after this unblessed bother is once all down, I may never in this world or the next hear more of them ;—that is a reward I cannot dispense with, nor must you grudge it me ! God knows I had no need of new weight thrown upon my poor back just at present ; and I have often asked myself, why in the devil's name I, of all mortals, got connected with such a thing ? I will take better heed another time !—

With regard to Miss Erdman,[3] and the £10 towards washing [4] purposes (for

[1] Unidentified by Froude or Wilson. The first letter of the name looks like *R* in the manuscript, but surely this is Willian Tait, the Edinburgh bookseller, who encouraged Carlyle in the 1820s. " Tait, the bookseller, is loud in his kind anticipations of the grand things that are in store for me." Carlyle's letter to his brother Alexander, 5 December 1820, in J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle* (London : Longmans, Green, 1882, 1884), i. 93.

[2] Quoted from the original letter in the National Library of Scotland, 516/20. The judgment of the Carlyles on the Ruskins at the time of the annulment was not as severe and puritanical as it has sometimes been represented as being.

[3] Who appears to have acted as custodian of the funds at Deptford, where the Lowes lived.

[4] The London subscribers to the fund had received reports that the living quarters of the Lowes badly needed cleaning.

now I see it must have referred to that), there came to me a distracted scratch of writing from the elder Lowe some time since, very high and defiant of the said Erdman, but otherwise quite Sybilline and unintelligible,—for the rest, of no worth whatever :—I have looked for it this morning to read ; but I suppose it is gone into the fire. Whither may all nonsense soon go. Amen, Amen !—

I am longing for your Book, the feeling you have about matters is altogether my own ; and you have not yet hacked your sword blunt is striking at the stony head of Human Stupidity, but rush in upon it as if it were cleavable or conquerable, —more power to your elbow. It is and will be incumbent . . . [part of letter cut away] . . . our whole soul, till we die ; . . . [part of letter cut away] . . . that it cannot be cleft, but is unconquerable by the very gods (according to Schiller), and lasts till the Day of Judgement at soonest.

We go into Hampshire for a month (17th Decr, that is, Monday week), and return on the 17th Jany; observe these dates and remember that you are due here,—payable the sooner the better.

I find a Misses—Lowe annuity of £25 will come rather cheaper than was expected ; in spite of the weather [other ?] symptoms, we can still hope to achieve some approximation to that. That, with your five pounds, solves the problem, therefore,—or at least absolves me from it.

[Signature cut away]

When Carlyle received a gift copy of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, volume three, he wrote the following letter full of praise and encouragement for the author. At the same time he gave his reason for refusing to lecture at the new Working Men's College.

Letter 6. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/4. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 18 Jany 1856

Dear Ruskin,

Last night your beautiful Book was handed in to me ; a very handsome welcome indeed on one's return home. I have already galloped extensively up and down over it ; find that it will be excellent reading for me in the coming nights. That is the real Sermon of the season and Epoch ; Sermon " meaning many things," by the most eloquent Preacher I have heard these 20 years, and who does mean wholly what he says. A beautiful enthusiasm is in him, a sharp flashing insight and very potent melody of utterance ; a noble audacity and confidence in Truth's gaining the victory,—much sooner than it will do ! For the odds are terrible against it, in these utterly decadent and indeed quite rotten times. I wish you long life ; and more and more power and opportunity of uttering forth, in tones of sphere-harmony mixed with thunder, these salutary messages to your poor fellow creatures,—whom (including us) may God pity. I also am, for my own particular share of the booty, grateful, as I may well be,—beyond what shall be written at present.

You will do us a real kindness any night you turn your steps hither, the earlier the better, for all manner of reasons. Also if you see the good Mr.

Furnival,[1] say I had his letter, but cannot possibly undertake to "talk," on any terms, to any class of creatures, my usual lodging being about the Center of Chaos (not far from that, just now), which is a very taciturn inarticulate locality.[2]

We wish you heartily "many good New Years." There are few whom they will suit better. I am always,

Yours with many thanks,
T. Carlyle.

A few months later Carlyle gave Lord Ashburton an appraisal of Ruskin that was considerably more discriminating and reserved.[3]

The next letter, written more than three years later, deals almost entirely with social matters and Jane's bad health.

Letter 7. Original in the National Library of Scotland, 1796/97. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 19 April 1859

Dear Ruskin,

We are in great misery here: my poor wife, after escaping all winter, has fallen into the worst cold I have ever seen her have; and suffers very much; weak too as an infant,—tho' I strive to flatter myself, not growing worse, but contrariwise. I caught a cold on the same occasion (last paroxysm of July—December weather),—or rather renewed a cold I have always obscurely had since a "bathe in the Baltic" last autumn: but I try to keep it at the staff's end, and do not hithermore allow it to interfere with business. Absolute silence being the rule here just now.—I will come riding out to Denmark Hill, on Thursday (day after tomorrow): and call you over the coals for half an hour, if you will be at home. Near 5 p.m.—no, let us say "4.20 or so", and be away before 5 again. Don't write, unless you have something to object.

That heaving about, and circling among the eddies, is not a pleasant process; but you will (to your astonishment perhaps) have various bouts of this kind in your wide voyage; and they are not unsalutory, still less can be dispensed with, tho' so disagreeable to the natural man.

If the Natural Man is totally at a loss for a career, let him read with attention this American Letter wh[h] came this morning;—surely that opens a career talens qualens! As the Letter is & not to be answered, you can burn it for the poor young Lady's sake.[4]

Yours always,
T. Carlyle.

A gift of cigars and the enjoyment of Dürer's pictures are the chief topics discussed in Carlyle's next letter.

[1] F. J. Furnival (1825-1910), philologist and Shakespeare scholar, active with Maurice, Kingsley, and Ruskin in teaching at the new Working Men's College.

[2] Carlyle was writing his *Frederick the Great* and finding the work extremely difficult and unpleasant.

[3] See Wilson, v. 222.

[4] I cannot identify the sender of this letter, which Ruskin *may* have burned.

Letter 8. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/5. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 15 March 1860

Dear Ruskin,

The door had no sooner closed on you than the maid brought in her Cigar Box,—the third that I have had from that cornucopia of a House : a shame to think of ! This is what may be called cigarring a man for his difficult adventure, as they talk of " corking " a Steamer to go thro' the seas. Truth is, I am not yet half way thro' the First Box, tho' I carry something of it daily in my pocket ; and the Horse of himself pauses at the fit places, inviting me to smoke and be thankful. I can only say, and think, you are very good.

The new Dürer is hung up in fine light, and I study to make acquaintance with it before it return home. The invincible grave simple Ritter, industriously riding on his way, with such a load of sorrow wh^h^ he makes not the least complaint of, pleases me more and more ;—less and less am I pleased with his two detestable companions ; who, I incline to think, lie beyond and below the real domain of Art, tho' they are very true to Nature too, and attend any man, tragically visible to him, if not to others. The Picture I guess to have no other meaning than that universal symbolical one.—Of the other Dürers which you showed us, the Scarlet Woman, with the flames bursting out, and the universe all going to live rubbish (like a cheese to mites) under her guidance,—is his most vivid in my memory ; but by far the most pleasant there is Sr. Hubert in the primeval woods of Liège, is beautifully sculptured out, he and they, and what they contain for a devout simple heart. Excellent pious Dürer, who made himself an ornament to this world, in his day and generation !—

I wish you were not going off in May to paint pine needles ! Are there not plenty of unpainted needle-woods and beautiful umbrageous creatures nearer home ? " The finest trees that grow in the Temperate Zone " stand all about, not far from Denmark Hill, I am told ! Cor inquietum est.

I expect to ride out again, in the interim, some day soon.

Yours most truly,
T. Carlyle.

Letter 9. Chelsea, 29 October 1860. Original in the Yale University Library. Published.[1] This is the well-known letter in which Carlyle in commenting on Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which was appearing as essays in the *Cornhill Magazine*, praised him for his attack on " those unfortunate Dismal-Science people " in the face of the general hostility to Ruskin which the essays were provoking.

The next letter, written a few weeks later, suggests a plan for a social evening with Ruskin during the Christmas season.

[1] In *English Illustrated Magazine*, ix (November 1891), 105-6 ; by M. H. Goldberg in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, 16 May 1935, p. 313 ; and in Wilson, v. 406-7.

Letter 10. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 24 December 1860

Dear Ruskin,

I am very sorry I did not write on Saturday, as it was my tho^{t} to do : but the old groom predicted " a thaw tomorrow," and that there w^{d} be riding for an unroughened horse. Hence—these unpolite phenomena ! I much regretted my bright Sunday ; but in fact it w^{d} have been at night,—and, please Heaven, there are others coming.

As y^{r} carriage horses must have got prepared before this,—the plan will now be that you come across (positively !) one of these silent evenings. No Xmas here ; perfect seclusion,—but great readiness for a visitor of luminous type.

The wife is prisoner ; I too in a sense,—but am to ride to day, and hope to recover some. Yours ever truly

T. Carlyle.

The five letters which follow in a block were all written to Ruskin's father, John James Ruskin (1785-1864), a wealthy wine merchant. Although these are mainly thank-you notes for gifts of brandy, cigars, Ruskin's newly published writings, etc., Letter 12 makes a spirited defence of Ruskin's lecture " Tree Twigs," in order to reassure the father, who knew that many members of the fashionable audience who heard Ruskin give it at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, in the spring of 1861 considered it a flat failure.

Letter 11. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 27 March 1861

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your new Gift of Brandy : surely you are very kind to take so much trouble about that matter for me. If it do rank at present among my necessaries of life (wh^{h} unluckily it does in a small way for the time being), I must admit that I am now well provided. I hope to report favourably of this new specimen when we next meet.

The absence of the Junior Mr. Ruskin has of late been frequently commented upon in this house : we request you to despatch him hitherward directly on his return from Cheshire.

With many thanks & regards

Yours sincerely
T. Carlyle.

Letter 12. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/8. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 23 April 1861

Dear Mr. Ruskin,

The wife was not with me on Friday Ev^g last :—but if she had been ? It is a literal fact, I, for my own part, found the Discourse a genial, wholesome, welcome one,—and was very well pleased. A failure as a " Lecture " (if you will), as a Discourse tied all up into sheaves, and able to stuff itself mostly into the space of 60 minutes, filling that and no more ;—failure that way ; but otherwise, I can assure you, quite the reverse of " failure." It did continue to tear up the subject (by explosion if not otherwise) for one's behoof ; gave one the liveliest desire to hear that man talk for a month on " New-leaves "; —and to me individually (tho' you must not mention it in Albemarle Street) gave, so far as I can calculate, more such satisfaction than any the neatest of the many neat Discourses I have heard in that place. " A failure " from over-opulence (embarras des richesses) : Heaven send us many, very many, of precisely the like kind ! These are facts I can myself bear witness to. I recommend, therefore, that everybody return to " the Arms of Murphy " [pun on Morpheus] as if nothing were wrong at all or had been : indeed it never struck me that the Chief Culprit cared the least ab^t it ; or I sh^d have been distressed for the moment, in one transient particular ; wh^h I was not at all. This is my affidavit ; wh^h I could not have written except to yourself ; but I had something else to write this night for the younger Mr. R. ; & will now append it here ; viz :

That he, the said R. Jun^r is due, and overdue, for weeks back, in this House ; And that we expect to see him within two or three nights,—any night he likes.

The Glasgow Brandy was exquisite,—perfect, so far as I c^n judge.

Yours sincerely,
T. Carlyle [1]

Letter 13. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 29 October 1861

My dear Sir,

You are abundantly kind and obliging. If it please Heaven, I will come to Denmark Hill some day again, and stay dinner ! Sh^d November 17th prove favourable in point of weather,—more especially a certain paltry little " breast-cold " wh^h I have caught, be tolerably shaken off,—Nov^r 17 shall be the day. In the opposite case, I will at least be punctual to give notice the day before. So that if you hear nothing, it is all right.

Yours sincerely,
T. Carlyle.

[1] The lecture was " the kind of failure old Mr. Ruskin had always dreaded for his son. . . . Ruskin had prepared his lecture inadequately and planned it ill ; it was shapeless and over-long." But the opinion of it which Carlyle gave to his brother John was the same that he gave Ruskin's father : " I do not recollect to have heard in that place any neatest thing I liked so well as this chaotic one." Evans, pp. 264-5 ; Ruskin's *Works*, viii. p. lix.

Letter 14. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 14 Nov^{h} 1861

Dear Mr. Ruskin,

I really am ashamed under your munificences as to cigars! I was still two Boxes strong; and here has another come today. All I can say is, you are very kind; and I return you many thanks the best I have. The Flowers [1] also are praised as "superlative",—tho' my poor wife is not able to put them in their bottles herself today, as she w^{d} otherwise have taken a half-holiday in doing. She has caught cold, in these inclemencies of weather; & keeps her room, and even her bed, all day.

It is a poor return for such kindnesses to say, what has been forcing itself upon me as too probable lately, that I actually must not venture on Sunday. This weather is of such a raging character; that bosom-friend (in the windpipe) still keeps such hold; the poor wife is so ill &c &c: in short, I will postpone it till "the Prodigal" (so let us call him in figurative language) returns from his Swiss wanderings;—and then, I shall be seriously unwell, and things very perverse about me, if I fail! We had a Letter from Lucerne the other day; very kind and pleasant; shadowing out a hermit-life among the Mountains yonder,—solitary affectionate, not without a trace of sadness, but wholesome, diligent, and leading towards good that I foresee. So soon as he returns—!—

Believe me always, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,
T. Carlyle.

Letter 15. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 30 Nov^{r} 1861

Dear Mr. Ruskin,

The Publisher has sent me the Book of "Selections" [2] as promised; and it is my constant companion, these evenings, in the few leisure hours I have;—awaking in me, seriously, the wish that every drawing-room in her Majesty's dominions were provided with a Copy, and able to read it with feelings similar to mine! It is many a day and year since I met with any Book the spirit of wh^{h} (to say nothing of its lively felicitous expression) is so accordant with what I reckon

[1] On 13 June 1861 Ruskin wrote to George Allen, his principal assistant in many enterprises: "Let flowers be taken as often as possible to Mrs. Carlyle, and as soon as the strawberries are ripe and weather nice, let Lucy go over to Chelsea and tell Mrs. Carlyle, and try to persuade her to come with Mr. Carlyle to eat strawberries and fresh cream".

"Mrs. Carlyle has been very ill, and if you can all behave so as to get her to come often and sit in the garden, and Mr. Carlyle to come there and smoke after his rides, I shall be much obliged to you all." Ruskin, *Works*, xxxv. 541 n.; see also xxxvi. 399.

[2] *Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin* was published by Smith, Elder in 1861.

best & truest.—The idea of the Publisher was surely altogether good ; multitudes of people, who could not get access to the big expensive book will be furnished with this as a kind of manual ; and no ingenuous soul will read any bit of it (at least any bit I have yet fallen in with) wh[h] will not have a tendency to do him good, as well as give him pleasure. The Book is well printed, unusually correct for most part ; the Portrait has a good resemblance a la Richmond : [1] it is altogether a pleasant little companion, and a profitable in these bad times ;—and I am much obliged to you for my individual share in the adventure.

My Wife continues room-fast, sometimes bed-fast (wh[h] she does not easily consent to be) ; but is never yet what we can call very ill. There has been a sad tragedy next door to us (a poor Mr Gilchrist,[2] a young literary man ; one of his children took Scarlet fever, the mother w[d] not send it away, others of them took it ; and within 5 days illness, the Head of the House is himself lying dead of the disorder) ;—this of course has been an agitating circumstance on our side of the wall, and has done my own poor Patient a sensible mischief. I believe y[r] last flask of perfect Brandy (let that be y[r] Thanks for it) went across to poor Gilchrist as medicine. I do not think a nobler use c[d] have been made of it, tho' it proved unavailing.—We had another Letter from Switzerl[d], with nothing but cheery news. Send my best regards when you write. Yours sincerely

T. Carlyle

All the letters which follow are written to John Ruskin.

Letter 16. 30 June 1862. Published.[3] Carlyle thanks Ruskin for the first part of *Munera Pulveris*, then coming out in *Fraser's Magazine*, and encourages him further to fight vigorously in the battle against " Macculloch, Mill, and Co."

Letter 17. Some sentences abstracted by Ruskin are copied into letters to his father, 7 and 11 April 1863, which have been published. Carlyle has seen the last part of *Munera Pulveris* in the April issue of *Fraser's* and continues his praise, "Euge ! I tell you I know nothing like it for felicity of expression ; John Mill keeps not closer to this dialectics, and he but with one gift, while here are so many." [4]

[1] The portrait was by George Richmond, Ruskin's friend.

[2] Alexander Gilchrist (1824-61), whose *Life of Blake* was published in 1863, and whose widow Anne Gilchrist wrote *Mary Lamb* (1883). See also *The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman* (1918) and *The Letters of William Michael Rossetti to Anne Gilchrist*, ed. C. Gohdes and P. F. Baum (1934).

[3] In the revised, one-volume edition of Collingwood's *Ruskin* (1900), pp. 202-3 ; and Ruskin's *Works*, xvii, p. lxx.

[4] Ruskin's *Works*, xvii, p. lxx. Carlyle was continuing to bring Ruskin's work to the attention of his friends. Of *Unto This Last* he wrote to Thomas Erskine on 4 August 1862 : " Here is a very bright little book of Ruskin's, which, if you have not already made acquaintance with it, is extremely well worth

Yet it would be an error to assume that even in this fair period all was felicitous in the relation of Carlyle to Ruskin. Old Mrs. Ruskin, still very much alive and with a mind governed entirely by Evangelical religious beliefs, suspected Carlyle as one who might be corrupting or destroying her son's religious faith. And at no time was Carlyle entirely uncritical or without reservations in his thinking about Ruskin. The following passage from a letter by Carlyle to his wife, 6 August 1864, helps to give us a balanced picture of the situation :

> Last evening, out of virtue, feeling poor and desolate, I went to Ruskin, found him and his Mother,—had mainly an unpleasant evening ; bad tea, bad talk, desultory, insincere ; came uncomfortably home at a quick pace shortly before eleven. Ruskin has no real regard for one. His eye is hard, rayless, in comparison ; his face lean : tho' he says he is gathering health.[1]

Yet in the next letter to Ruskin, written just a few months later, Carlyle thanks him for sending flowers to Jane and cigars to himself ; and he is quite ready to share in his passionate interest in geology.

Letter 18. Chelsea, 22 February 1865. Published.[2] On 1 March 1865, Carlyle wrote to his brother John : " On Monday I had engaged myself to Denmark Hill, for Ruskin's superb mineralogical collection and a free discourse upon the same :—an adventure that proved pleasant enough while it lasted." [3]

The next letter is the only one I have found from Jane Welsh Carlyle to Ruskin. Abundant evidence exists to indicate that she wrote others to him, which may be lost or hidden somewhere in the Ruskin papers. Ruskin wrote a considerable number of letters to her and others to her and Carlyle jointly. Some of these have been published.[4] What she really thought about Ruskin and what Ruskin really thought about her are questions much too

reading." Froude, iv. 252. And to Lord Ashburton he wrote on 31 August 1862 : " Ruskin, in the Sept. *Fraser*, has another valiant article [part of *Munera Pulveris*] : shall I send it ; are you there to read it ? " From the original letter in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton.

[1] Trudy Bliss, *Thomas Carlyle : Letters to His Wife* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 370.

[2] In Collingwood, ii. 301-2.

[3] Thomas Carlyle, *New Letters*, ed. A. Carlyle (London and New York : John Lane, 1904), ii. 225.

[4] Chiefly in Ruskin's *Works*, vols. xxxvi and xxxvii.

complex and difficult to be dealt with adequately here. The letter which follows, written when Mrs. Carlyle was seeking at the home of one of her best friends, Mrs. Russell, in Scotland to regain her strength after the most horrible illness of the many from which she suffered. She was then an extremely weak and badly crippled woman who would die less than a year later.

Letter 19. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

Holm Hill, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire
15 July [1865]

Oh how delightful! My dear Mr. Ruskin! That nice long letter and lovely little Book [1]—Imagine? They came to me the first thing on my Birthday morning! Came with all the charm of a Birthday present!—You once gave me strawberries and cream on my Birthday. Do you remember? (I have never seen such strawberries and cream since! nor have I had any such pleasant Birthday since! But all have passed in pain and sorrow!) I like the Book and letter far better, however, because these will keep! And, being superstitious a little, as a Scotch woman ought to be, I draw ever so many good omens from the Book and letter beginning a new year of Life for me. One piece of good I clearly divine therefrom; that you are not going to forget poor me in the pressure of your avocations and distractions but will care for me, and give me flowers now and then, as long as I last!

What a talent for naming you have!
"Of Kings Treasuries
Of Queen's Gardens!" [2]

The names lift me already into the sphere of the Arabian Nights!

Please tell your Mother how much I am obliged to her for her call, altho' I was so unlucky as miss it. And you may add, if you like, that I am sure she would not dislike me if she knew me: for the only time I ever saw her, I felt to take to her very much, because she said no superfluous or insincere word! And I have always found that those I take to at first sight take to me sooner or later if they give themselves a fair chance.

I cannot understand your persistence in forgetting Mrs. Hawks (Madame Venturi)! [3] She is to my mind perfectly charming! If you knew the romantic thing she once did for love of you, it would fix her in your mind forever!

"My lamed hand!" Alas me! It is not with that I write. That is quite past making any sort of writing whatsoever. It is too painful to attempt using it

[1] *Sesame and Lilies.*

[2] Parts of *Sesame and Lilies*, originally given as lectures at Manchester, 6 and 14 December 1864.

[3] Emilie Hawkes, whose second husband was Carlo Venturi, an Italian friend and admirer of Mazzini, who was also Mrs. Carlyle's friend.

at all. So I have had to learn to write with my left hand, which protests against the unwonted exaction in taking every now and then the Cramp !

I hope to get home on the 24th or 25th.

Yours affectionately,

Jane Carlyle

I saw Mr. Carlyle Yesterday, entirely sick of " Solitude " which he has got to call " Stragnation " ! He is about to start on further travels.

Letter 20. Chelsea, 20 December 1865. Published.[2] Carlyle praises Ruskin's *Ethics of the Dust* as a work containing poetry " that might fill any Tennyson with despair ". In writing to his brother John the next day, Carlyle says that although the book suffers from a " sad weakness of backbone " it is " full of admirable talent " and " twists symbollically, in the strangest way, all its geology into Morality, Theology, Egyptian Mythology (with fiery cuts at Political Economy etc. !)." [3]

Letter 21. Chelsea, 14 February 1866. Unpublished. The original was sold by the Parke-Bernet Galleries on 29 April 1953, but I have been unable to get information concerning its present owner and whereabouts. The sale catalogue describes the letter as follows : " A charming letter, intimately addressed to Ruskin, in which the ' Sage of Chelsea ' mildly and somewhat humorously reproves Ruskin's unsociability, referring to their having been blackballed by the Athenaeum Club." [4]

Letter 22. Chelsea, 10 May 1866. Published.[5] A deeply moving letter dealing with the death of Jane Welsh Carlyle, which had occurred on April 21.

[1] Carlyle was also in Scotland, visiting various relatives and friends. At the time he was in Annandale visiting his sister Jane but in a day or two would go to Keswick, where he visited his old friend Thomas Spedding, brother of the Bacon scholar. [2] Collingwood, ii. 321-2.

[3] From the original letter in the National Library of Scotland, 526/36. Evans says that Carlyle's praise of *Ethics of the Dust* was harmful to Ruskin ; it was an adult philosopher approving the result of Ruskin's tendency to turn back to childhood, pp. 285-6.

[4] Both Ruskin and Carlyle were members of the Athenaeum Club. Carlyle had become a member about 1 March 1853, when Lord Ashburton got him elected and paid his dues for life. See Wilson, v. 32.

[5] Ruskin's *Works*, xviii, p. xlvii. Ruskin wrote to a friend on 11 June 1866 : " The deaths of Mrs. Carlyle and of Lady Trevelyan take from me my two best women friends of older power." Ibid. xxxvi. 509.

On 16 June 1866 Carlyle wrote to a friend, probably C. A. Ward, that he commended the quality of his criticism on Ruskin in a recent letter except for one point, " when you seem to question not his strength alone, but his sincerity a little too ; wh[h] latter I can testify to be complete, and even vehement and painful to him. If he live, there will be mission enough for him in the next 20 years." [1]

Letter 23. Chelsea, 27 September 1866. Published.[2] This deals with the activities of Ruskin, Carlyle, and other members of their Committee to defend General E. J. Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, who was being called home to face charges that he used high-handed, authoritarian, and cruel methods in suppressing a rebellion there. Ruskin was still on the continent when the case first broke into the news. On 3 September Carlyle wrote to Charles Kingsley : " Ruskin is coming ; full of holy zeal [to help] " [3] On 15 September he wrote to Miss Davenport Bromley :

> The Eyre Committee is going on better, indeed is now fairly getting on its feet. Ruskin's speech [spoken before the Committee on 5 September]—now don't frown upon it, but read it again till you understand it—is a right gallant thrust I can assure you. While all the world stands tremulous, shilly-shallying from the gutter, impetuous Ruskin plunges his rapier up to the very hilt in the abominable belly of the vast block-headism, and leaves it staring very considerably.[4]

Letter 24. 11 October 1866. Unpublished and whereabouts of original unknown, although probably in the Ruskin papers. A note in Ruskin's *Works*[5] refers to it as follows : " Carlyle complains of a statement as ' presented as if wrapt in bales of wool, or by the broadest end, or even by the side, instead of the point,' and bids Ruskin see what he can do to help the author to mend it." This seems to have reference to Eyre Committee activities.

Letter 25. Mentone, 15 February 1867. Published.[6] An excellent letter. " The impetuous Tyndall tore me out from the

[1] From the original letter at the Carlyle House, Chelsea.

[2] In Ruskin's *Works*, xxxvi. 517. The original letter was sold by Maggs in the season of 1950-51, but I have not discovered its present whereabouts.

[3] From the original in the National Library of Scotland, 1796/107.

[4] Froude, iv. 330.

[5] xxxvi. 517.

[6] Ruskin's *Works*, xvii. 339 n. Incomplete in Collingwood, ii. 340-1.

sleety mud-abysses of London, as if by the hair of the head ; and dropped me here." His hostess was the second Lady Ashburton.

Letter 29. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/6. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 6 April 1867

Dear Ruskin,

Yr letter reached me, with warm welcome, at Mentone ; but nothing of the interesting "gossip" etc. wh^h^ was promised for "next week"! What has become of that?

About a fortnight ago, I got home (if this can now be called a "home"), and have been lying strictly perdu ever since, in the hope of recomposing myself a little ;—have called literally on nobody, except on Froude taking leave for Spain, and on Forster[1] with whom I had pecuniary "buss" "; nor has anybody (so to speak) called on me. I am very quiet, of humor very somber ;—looking, in these days, upon an "April last," wh^h^ must be forever memorable to me. My Brother John, who was here to receive me, still continues, for I suppose ten days yet ; and is the only company I have.

If you durst lift anchor ag^n^ (Wedn^y^ night, to be exact), you w^d^ be a very welcome appearance here ! John, who knows you, and has sense to estimate you, will not be in our way at all ;—if he be even here on any terms, wh^h^ is not cert^n^ for that ev^g^.

If you don't write, I shall concluded you are coming.

Yours ever faithfully,

T. Carlyle

My kindest regards to the dear Old Lady & the d^r^ young.

The tone of this letter is peaceful enough. Even two weeks later Carlyle's comments on Ruskin in a letter to Lady Ashburton are full of praise :

> Ruskin I have seen twice [since the return from Mentone] (who seems to have great things in view, more than one). He is writing some pungent Political Economy letters "addressed to a working man" (which come out in the Manchester newspapers) : well worth reading, these, among the deluge of stuff that requires not to be read.[2]

Neither man at this time could have possibly predicted the horribly violent storm through which their friendship passed during the next two months. It was their only quarrel of any significance. Yet the cause of it rose directly from the individual characters of the two men. On 7 May the Manchester *Examiner* carried another of Ruskin's letters to a working man, a letter

[1] John Forster. W. E. Forster was also Carlyle's friend.

[2] From the original in possession of the Marquess of Northampton. Ruskin's letters to a working man were collected and published as *Time and Tide by Weare and Tyne.*

dated 27 April, in which Ruskin reported that on a visit to Carlyle two days before Carlyle had complained bitterly about the manners of people in his part of London and had spoken of those of the people of Mentone as greatly superior. In Ruskin's words:

> But in the streets of Chelsea, and of the whole district of London round it, from the Park to the outer country (some twelve or fifteen miles of disorganized, foul, sinful, and most wretched life), he now cannot walk without being insulted, chiefly because he is a grey old man, and also because he is cleanly dressed; these two conditions of him being wholly hostile, as the mob of the street feel, to their own instincts, and, so far as they appear to claim some kind of reverence and recognition of betterness, to be instantly crushed and jeered out of their way; and this temper of the London populace has been, he said, steadily on the increase for these last twenty years.[1]

When a working man at Rochdale wrote Carlyle to ask whether Ruskin's report were true, Carlyle's indignant answer was published in the newspapers:

> The thing now "going the rounds" is untrue, diverges from the fact throughout, and in essentials is curiously the reverse of the fact; an "incredible" (and at once forgettable) "thing".[2]

Another statement which Carlyle sent out to various newspapers called Ruskin's report "erroneous, misfounded, superfluous, and even absurd".[3] Ruskin stuck to his story and demanded that Carlyle openly acknowledge the truth of it: "You have given the lie direct in the most insulting terms possible to the man who most honored you."[4] Carlyle refused, and the controversy continued both in angry letters which passed back and forth between the two men and in the newspapers. A letter which Carlyle sent to the *Times* on June 7 did not give ground but was more conciliatory in tone than earlier letters. Ruskin is supposed to have destroyed most of the letters that he received from Carlyle during the quarrel.[5] But the letter which follows is probably the "ugly letter from Carlyle" which he mentions in his diary on June 14.[6]

Letter 27. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

[1] R. H. Shepherd, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Carlyle* (London: W. H. Allen, 1881), ii, 249; Ruskin's *Works*, xvii, 480-1.

[2] Ibid. p. 481. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 482.

[5] Ibid. [6] Wilson, vi. 130.

Chelsea, 13 June 1867

Dear Ruskin,

With a Poet's temperament, you enormously exaggerate this miserable, but intrinsically small and paltry matter. "The most dishonouring words ever spoken of you" are, as you will understand by and by, simply to the effect, that you in y^r^ headlong incautious way, with the best and truest intentions in the world, strode into one of the foolishest practical puddles recently heard of, and dragged a most unwitting friend along with you,—who refuses to lie there with you (especially to lie undermost, as he chanced to be), and, finding you took no steps and did not even recognize the puddle much, has striven honestly to save first himself, and then his more or less blameable companion too,—really with his best endeavour, and utmost stretch of faculty and skill, exerted in an element infinitely foreign and unpleas^t^ to him. So that he is now out, and getting his mind cleaned ;[1] and you too are out (if you will be wise) with only an infinitesimal minimum of smutch upon you,—such as all sons of Adam catch to themselves from time to time, and are all absolved from, so soon as they heartily [?] acknowledge it. For the man that never made a "mistake" was not heard of hitherto. And these are "the most dishonouring words that ever" &c. &c. Oh dear, oh dear !—

But on the whole, I too, my friend, have had my abund^t^ vexations, botherat^ns^ and distresses ab^t^ this small and miserable matter,—wh^h^ is so extraneous, so infinitely incongruous, and comes intruding on me with such a ghastly contemptibility, amid the serious, sad and solemn matters wh^h^ are my constant occupa^n^ otherwise (especially sad in these weeks),—that I too find it at last unbearable ; and decide to have done with it at once, till it take a quite new figure ! Please, don't send me any "formal Letter"; but take this as my ans^r^ to it beforehand, and the only ans^r^ I will make to it or any other on that subject, as matters now stand bet^n^ us :

First, therefore, I never told you, nor c^d^ tell any mortal, that "Mr. Carlyle" was liable to be insulted on the streets of London or Chelsea ; the constant fact that I have the natural liberty of all quiet persons to walk the streets unmolested, and if need were, protected & defended ; and that in no street, lane or place of London or any other City, Town or region, did "Mr. Carlyle", when personally recognised, meet with anything hitherto but an evid^t^ respect far beyond what was his due, or what was in the least necessary to him. This is the steadfast fact ; and this you have carelessly tumbled heels over head into a statement incredible to all who hear it, and monstrous to imagine. Secondly, I did tell you that, by order of the Doctor, I had discontinued my midnight walks, wh^h^ used to have a sombre soothing charm, and to seem salutary, as the last work of the day. This I perfectly remember telling you. And what mad reversal you have made of this

[1] On 1 June Carlyle had written to his brother John : "Ruskin is in great agony about the beggarly *Pall-Mall* 'Paragraph' affair ; but I have at least ended it, and the dirty rumor of impertinent nothingness about it ;—and he feels, or will feel, that the headlong folly [into which] he fell way 'absurd.' Finis to that dirty babble !" From the unpublished letter in the National Library of Scotland, 526/61.

you cannot have forgotten ! A domestic picture unexampled in British History or Biography. The wretched dreary old Dotard and Coward peering tremulously out of door at midnight, If he might now steal a little exercise,—and not substance enough left in him even to tell himself if he c^{d}n't alter such a state of matters. Papae, proh pudor ! If a man were on the outlook for " dishonouring words," or cared much ab^{t} them when they came, here by accid^{t} they are, in richest measure for him.

In fine, so far as I can recollect those unlucky 10 minutes of loose talk, wh^{h} memory took so little charge of, and wh^{h} are now several weeks away, our discourse did not turn upon public streets, thoroughfares or walking, but almost wholly on my experiences in riding, thro' the unfrequented slums and waste-lying outskirts of London (tempted thither by the soft ground, or the immunity from wheels, where the lower pop[ul]ace or canaille inhabit : nor, ag^{n}, was my experience there the least definable as " Mr Carlyle's," but simply as that of A. or B., riding seemingly for his amusem^{t}, and from his age or gravity of aspect, not very likely to use his horsewhip in reply (wh^{h} more than once proved a miscalculat^{n}, too, and had firm effect on the individual two-legged canis, if he chanced to stand within reach). These are the precisest certain facts (as precise as I can now give them) of that bit of private dialogue bet^{n} us.

And had you, instead of carelessly, hastily and heedlessly reversing these, stated the whole of them with the accuracy of an affidavit, and then printed my name to them,—what c^{d} I have called it but the absurdest oversight, and foolishest " practical blunder " that ever dropped upon me of its own accord, from any man of sense, in all my days ! And this is the last word I intend to write upon a subject, wh^{h} has already cost me a great deal too many.

For I have had, not on my own acc^{t} alone, to manipulate in my sad and sick Soul, this paltry bit of nonsense not a little, to tear it carefully down to its elemental fibres, and to sight and survey it on all sides till I c^{d} completely reckon it transparent to me, but something of you too, my friend, and of the mad world's ways with you and me ; and in fine " to forge my miserable horse-shoe " (as I told you), nay in success^{n} my two horse-shoes, " in the middle of leaky powder-barrels ";—and I now thank God to have done with it altogether. Further words upon it, especially bet^{n} you and me, what good c^{d} be in them, till a considerable change come ; till, as I once said already, we both of us come to see both sides of the matter ? Till each see, in a perfect and quietly transparent manner, not only his own grief, and whether he bro^{t} it wholly on himself, but also his neighbour's and whether he did so! If I am so egregiously in error to suppose that " six weeks " will work this salutary change in you, I shall be profoundly sorry (and much surprised withal, for it is still my belief) ; but the actual coming of the change does not now depend on me at all ; and till it do come, we must wait.

The tone and new style of y^{r} last Letters, especially of y^{r} last but one, has been perhaps or seemed a little singular ; and I want no more of that fashion soon. But as to " implacability " &c &c, it is, to myself, void of meaning or conceivabi[li]ty ; and on such a score, as you assign, it w^{d} savour to me of utter madness ; —nor do I believe it of you at all, nor will unless forced. If I had in any degree

injured a cert[n] interest [1] (of wh[h] I was not thinking at all), that w[d] indeed have been a cruel and most forbidding circ[umstanc]e in my necessity; but that was not there; nor do I now believe (what[r] your wildly exaggerative mind may do) that it will have the weight of a fly's wing in the beautiful resolute and candid soul on whose vote you alone depend; —nay if it did, & if she did see it to proceed from a too headlong habit &c, and to require a little censure and attempt at amend[t], might it not be better that she know it now, before closure of the barg[n] than after it? There is for you!—

Adieu, my friend. Since you won't accept any counsel on that mutual plunge into the puddle, I must leave you to y[r] own. Quod faustum sit. I consider it still possible that by this accid[t] we may become "better friends than ever"; more sincere, more frank, ruggedly veracious, much more humanly helpful to one another: But the chance depends now altog[r] on y[r]self, and I can't control it farther. Adieu: none of y[r] fine qualities and talents, nor of y[r] uniformly amiable procedures, are forgotten by me at this moment, nor have much chance of ever being.

Y[rs] sincerely (so far as you will permit),

T. Carlyle

P.S. Please send me that Ms. of Edw[d] Irving at y[r] convenience. I want it for a reason, but not till you have quite done with it.

It was about this time that Carlyle told Moncure D. Conway that even the gods could not save Ruskin.[2] But the fury of the quarrel seems to have abated after the middle of June. On 26 June Ruskin records in his diary that he was "at Carlyle's in evening".[3] Yet two months later it was still possible for Carlyle to feel a spasm of wrath about the matter. On 27 August he wrote to Lady Ashburton: "Ruskin and I are parted for the time being—forever, if he like, the fool!"[4] The truth of the matter is by its very nature complex. It will probably never be stated more convincingly than in Carlyle's long letter to Ruskin. Yet we need to consider also the following very helpful comment from a letter written by Charles Eliot Norton on 22 July 1869:

He [Carlyle] did say, so I heard from a person who was present when he said it, what Ruskin reported; but he said it in one of his wild moods of half-cynical, half-humorous exaggeration, very likely forgot his words as soon as uttered, and at

[1] Probably Rose La Touche. Ruskin had taught her when she was a ten-year-old child in 1858 and was now in love with her. She died unmarried in 1875.

[2] M. D. Conway, *Autobiography: Memories and Experiences* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), ii. 117.

[3] Wilson, vi. 130.

[4] From the original letter in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton.

least had no intention that they should be taken au pied de la lettre, or that he should be held responsible for them.[1]

The respect and even affection which the people of Chelsea had for Carlyle at the time was, as he very well knew, not to be doubted. The most fitting last words on the subject are certainly those of Carlyle's niece, Mary Aitken, who came to live with him soon after the quarrel. She wrote to Lady Ashburton :

> Mr. Ruskin also comes sometimes in the evenings. I think it was very generous of Ruskin to come back to him and never allude to any misunderstanding at all. My uncle seems to like him far better now than he did before.[2]

Letter 28. Chelsea, 17 August 1869. Published.[3] Complains of his " poor rebellious right hand, which oftenest refuses altogether to do any writing for me that can be read ; having already done too much, it probably thinks ! " Praises Ruskin's *Queen of the Air.* On 14 September 1869 Carlyle wrote to Froude : " There is (in singular environment) a ray of real Heaven in poor Ruskin ;—passages of that last book (Queen of the Air) went into my heart like arrows." [4]

Letter 29. 1 October 1869. I have found only the following short excerpt : " Don't neglect to call on me the first time you are in town—the sight of your face will be a comfort, and I long for a little further talk on the problems you are occupied with."[5]

From 1870 until Carlyle's death in early 1881 Ruskin would often write him as many as five letters for every one received from him. Ruskin greatly missed his father, who had died in 1864. To John James Ruskin he could freely pour out his heart in frequent letters. Now that Ruskin's father was gone, Carlyle was willing to serve as well as he could as the recipient of such letters and

[1] *Letters* (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin, 1913), i. 362. In an earlier letter, 7 June 1869, Norton wrote : " Emerson and Ruskin are the only distinguished living men of whom Carlyle spoke,—in all the talk I ever had with him,—with entire freedom from sarcasm or depreciation, with something like real tenderness." Ibid. p. 333.

[2] From the original letter in possession of the Marquess of Northampton.

[3] Ruskin's *Works*, xix. p. lxx.

[4] Waldo H. Dunn, " Carlyle's Last Letters to Froude," *Twentieth Century*, clix (January 1956), 51 ; Froude, iv. 383.

[5] Cook, *Ruskin*, ii. 165.

even humoured Ruskin by allowing himself to be addressed (and, once when Ruskin came to call, even kissed) as " Papa ".[1]

The Franco-Prussian War was very much in the news in 1870. Ruskin in general agreed with Carlyle in favouring the Germans. " And dear old Carlyle," he wrote to Norton on 26 August 1870, "—how thankful I am that he did his Friedrich exactly at the right time ! " [2] Yet he also believed that Germany pressed her victory too far and that she should offer terms which France could accept with honour.

Letter 30. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea
10 October 1870

Dear Ruskin,

On Saturday morning, on my first sally out into the open air, I noticed on a Newsvendor's Placard that there was a " Letter from Mr. Ruskin ", which it would be necessary for me to see. Not having the copper penny in my pocket, I took the necessary steps immediately on my return home ; and, along with my coffee, comfortably swallowed the Ruskin Letter accordingly,—more comfortably than I did my coffee, for which, alas, as for all other material things (tho' not for things spiritual, thank God), there is now a clearly decaying appetite.

In the course of the day, I learnt that there had been another Letter, which somehow must be attained here ; and, by our last post, came your benificent announcement that both Letters had duly been put under way by you. By you duly ; but not by the Postoffice Authorities, who did not, till our second post this day, forward your two Daily Telegraphs at all ;—and now further, to my confusion, I discovered that they are both copies of the Saturday's Telegraph, which I had already possessed, and given away several copies of, before the week ended ! Letter first, therefore, still stands as a lonely Desideratum in that waste-howling Wilderness of human mismanagement, disloyalties and infidelities !—You see then, what is at once to be done. Pray clip out Letter first for one, and dispatch it quam primum.—Your Second Letter, full of holy indignation was as if it came from my own heart ; at the end, however, I think you do the Germans wrong. My notion is : Bismarck knows very well what he is aiming at ; & I find withal that it is a perfectly just thing ; likewise that all the World cannot prevent him from getting it ; and that he is calmly taking all the necessary steps for coercing an inarticulate mad and furious Wasps' Nest of thirty five million delirious

[1] Alfred Lyttleton, Gladstone's nephew, after calling on Carlyle with Ruskin in 1878, wrote thus of the way in which Carlyle received them : " At first he groaned and sighed a good deal, receiving kindly enough, however, Ruskin's kiss, most tenderly given." Wilson, vi. 423.

[2] C. E. Norton, ed., *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), ii. 24.

Mountebanks to quietly grant it him, with the Minimum of Sulphur applied. He seems to me at this moment to have power to cut France into thongs, and, in a few days, to convert Paris, if he liked, into a red hot Cinder; but is far from intending anything beyond the strictly necessary for his objects.[1]

I am reading Bitzius,[2] with astonishment at the dull gritty strength of him; also at his cruelty, limitation, dimness, narrowness; but there is the charm in him of a rugged Veracity; strange "Dutch Picture", as you say, of an object curious to me and unknown to me. With great pleasure my little Niece will be of your party to the Theatre whenever you see good. Whether her poor old Uncle, who also would like much, can accompany or not will depend on the complexion of the Nervous System for that evening;—The willing mind for many things is still partially here; but the Man is way-worn, weary, and rigorously ordered to be aware of that fact.

Send me the Newspaper Clipping, dear Ruskin; and believe me

Ever yours,

T. Carlyle

In late December 1870 Ruskin seems to have given Carlyle an advanced copy of *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 1, which made the old man decidedly uneasy. He was always afraid that Ruskin's impetuosity would overcome his judgment. In a letter to his brother John of 31 December 1870 Carlyle wrote:

> There is further waiting for you an astonishing Paper by Ruskin. . . . I think you never read a madder looking thing. I still hope (though with little confidence) that he will bethink him and drop the matter in time: therefore keep it to yourself in the meanwhile,—though, alas, I fear he will plunge into it all the same.[3]

But when the fifth letter of *Fors* appeared in April, Carlyle gave it almost unreserved praise in the following letter:

Letter 31. Chelsea, 30 April 1871. Published.[4] On the fifth number of *Fors*: "Every word of it as if spoken, not out of my poor heart only, but out of the eternal skies; words winged with Empyrean wisdom, piercing as lightning—and which I really do not remember to have heard the like of."

Letter 32. Chelsea, 21 October 1871. Published.[5] On 5 December 1871 Ruskin's mother died. Carlyle knew how

[1] The two letters, both on the Franco-Prussian War, were in the *Daily Telegraph* for 7 and 8 October 1870 and may be found in Ruskin's *Works*, xxxiv. 499-500.

[2] Albert Bitzius (1797-1854), Swiss novelist.

[3] From the original in the National Library of Scotland, 527/37.

[4] Collingwood, ii. 411; Ruskin's *Works*, xxvii, p. lxxxvi.

[5] Ruskin's *Works*, xxii, p. xix.

unusually close the relation of son and mother had been. He had been unusually close to his own mother up until her death in 1853. His next letter to Ruskin is one of profound sympathy.

Letter 33. Chelsea, 6 December 1871. Published.[1] On 7 December Carlyle wrote to his brother John : " Poor Ruskin has lost his Mother ; she died Tuesday about 2 p.m. A note from him of three short lines came that night ; mournful as if every word were a tear." [2]

Possibly Carlyle's most eloquent tribute to Ruskin is the well-known one in his letter to Emerson of 2 April 1872.[3] Too long to be quoted in full here, it begins : " There is nothing going on among us as notable to me as those fierce lightning-bolts Ruskin is copiously and desperately pouring into the black world of Anarchy all around him."

Letter 34. Chelsea, 31 October 1873. Published.[4] Praises Ruskin's *Val d'Arno.* " Have you read poor Mill's Autobiography ; and did you ever before read such a book ? "

Letter 35. Original in the John Rylands Library, English MS. 1191/7. Hitherto unpublished.

Chelsea, 15 July 1874

Dear Ruskin,

We have been bountifully furnished with these precious little showers of manna which fall on us day after day with a wonderful continuity on your part. They are really strange and charming to me, wonderfully annihilating time and space between us, bringing you and your whereabout vividly home to us as in a magic glass. It is little to say of them that I have had no such epistolary pleasure for the last eight years. If I could command or expect such a thing, I should say Encore, encore, do not cease while I live ! but alas, that is not in my power ; and while the reciprocity is all on one side [5] such a thing in nature is not to be expected.

[1] Ruskin's *Works* xxxvi, p. xxiii.

[2] From the original letter in the National Library of Scotland, 527/56.

[3] *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1834-1872, ed. C. E. Norton (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), ii. 388-9.

[4] Ruskin's *Works*, xxiii, p. lv. See also Carlyle's tribute to Ruskin in the letter to his brother John of 24 February 1872, *New Letters*, ii, 284. To C. E. Norton he wrote in November 1873 : " Ruskin also is treading the winepress alone ; and sometimes feels his labor very heavy. God be with him, poor fellow. I hear at the present time no other Voice like him in this dreary Mother of dead dogs which is still commonly called a world." From the original letter in the Houghton Library, Harvard.

[5] Coterie speech in the Carlyle household. Mrs. Carlyle had found the expression very amusing and had used it often.

Go on at any rate, as long as it is not a bother to you, and know always that nothing you can do is more certain of a grateful welcome. I think we have had eight Letters since I wrote to you last, and now that you are going or gone to Perugia and we are soon to be driven out of London by the fervent heat, I write again to apprize you as far as possible when we are going and witherward, both of which points, especially the latter, are still somewhat involved in haze.

As to the time, it seems certain enough that we are still to be here for ten days ; so that there is still room for a Letter or two, if you will stand good, not to say for three or four wh. could be safely and immediately forwarded to Froude's in Wales (J. A. Froude, Esq., Crogan, Corwen, Merionethshire) ;—and should we even sail to Lerwick, where we suppose my Brother John to be, diligently looking out for bathing quarters, there is a daily post to that Scandinavian locality with only an addition of two days or perhaps of only one to the distance between Cheyne Row and you. Go on therefore for at least ten days hitherward and for ten more Froude-ward. Before the latter period expire you shall have another dispatch concerning our ulterior movements ; and so enough, on that poor time-table head.

Mary and I turned up and punctually persued, & with great attention, all the chapters and passages of Scripture appointed you in childhood, by one now sacred to you ; nor did we omit the recent passage of Jeremiah's Lamentations ; but cannot any more than yourself who the " them " and " they " especially are. As to the rest, I found them one and all beautifully significant and maternally fit ; indeed in nearly all of them I was struck by a kind of divineness of piety, intensity, and perfect sincerity not to be found in any other Book ; ever wonderful old Jews ! In three or four of the pieces, I forget now which, there was a speech about Wisdom, of its dwelling with the Lord before anything else existed, of its being the essence and foundation of all that does or ever will exist ; nay, of its being almost the Lord himself, which struck me very forcibly and with a light quite new, as words springing from the deepest region of man's soul, and being eternally the truth for the soul of man,—for me at this day as for the ancient Hebrew that penned them in his remote wilderness, thousands of years ago, thrice wonderful old Hebrews, sunk now to Baron Grant [1] and his scoundrel Resuscitations of the Fine Arts in Leicester Square !—Under this head, too, I may as well mention that your earnest and eager enquiry twice repeated, 24th & 27th June, about my notions on Abbot Samson's religion, on King Friedrick's, Cromwell's, and my Mother's, have been often present to me ; and at first gave me some surprise at finding you think I had still something more to tell you on that subject ; though of late the surprise has gone, for I can now bethink me of almost nothing I have ever hinted, even in the obscurest way, on that point,[2] if it be not one transient, but

[1] Albert Grant, known as Baron Grant (1830-99), son of W. Gottheimer. He assumed the name of Grant. For his Leicester Square project and the many others which he promoted, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxii, 763-4.

[2] An amazing statement to many of Carlyle's twentieth-century readers who think of his writings as being rather heavily saturated with religion. But W. H. Wylie wrote at the time of Carlyle's death : " To a friend of ours who happened once to say that he held the same religious views as himself, Carlyle with some heat retorted, ' My religious views ! And who told you what my religious views are ? ' " Thomas Carlyle : *The Man and His Books* (London : Marshall Japp,

to myself significant allusion in Past and Present apropos of that duel apud Radingas where a sinful caitiff, desperately fighting for his life, sees the gigantic figure of St. Edmund, looking doomful and minatory upon him in the splendor of the evening sun, and falls down as if dead, but is brought to life again by the monks and lives as a monk many years afterwards absolved from the world. There followed that a little word or two which had much much [sic] meaning to myself; but I now see can have had none to anybody else.[1] I would gladly write on that subject, were there left in me, without fingers, the smallest power of writing, but it will be better that we first talk of it, as you propose, which I shall long for an opportunity of doing.

Froude is bound for the Cape of Good Hope and generally for the Colonies on an earnest mission from Lord Carnarvon and the government to look into that colonial problem with his own eyes, and to advise what, in his own best judgment, can by a wise Government be done or attempted. He is to leave Southampton for Cape Town on the 23rd August; to be away many months, so that, probably, I shall never see him again. But the whole world, and all British men in the first place, may fairly expect to get some good of it, and in the end a boundless quantity of good by this adventure; and to himself in his silent sorrow it seems to me of all enterprises the most promising and wholesome. Everybody that I hear speaking of it warmly approves of the project & of the man selected for it. For my own part I feel well enough what I shall lose by the affair and how sad and solemn the adieu is. Of course I must see him on whatever terms for a few days before we part.

I had much to say about the last Fors and things relating to yourself but my unfortunate ethereal part is so crushed down into the foul mire by this intolerable heat and feebleness of nerve and muscle that I must forbear it all till a better time. I tell you only two things; first, that I think and have long thought that you are dreadfully in error as to the German people and the genius of Germany; which (including England & its Shakespeares, wh. are radically German) I place far above the genius and characteristics of any othere people ancient or modern; very especially above whatever can be called French; and truly I wish you could get to understand how poor an affair, if you deducted those Franks out of it who are purely German every fibre of them, and not the best of German, la belle France, with all its boundless self-conceit, and even its pretty tailoring and cooking and ingeniously filigreeing talent, would be.

The second thing I had to say is but a repetition, namely of the dreadful shock you have given to the Fine Arts here, especially to the Architectural, by your refusal of the Gold Medal to be presented by the Queen & the tittering and tee-heeing of many sober minded and ingenious people by your dreadful offer to sit willingly in sackcloth and ashes with any respectable body of Fine-Artists that will

1881), p. 384. Jane Carlyle's Edinburgh aunts worried constantly about the souls of both Carlyles and feared the worst, since the Carlyles would not change.

[1] The duel took place at Reading between Robert de Montfort and Henry of Essex. Henry was overcome and became a monk. Carlyle's comment characteristically emphasizes duty, justice, and reverence. See *Past and Present*, Book Second, chap. xiv.

invite you for such a purpose. Oh joy! Was there ever such cruelty heard of! How well deserved, I and the ingenious people do not now say.[1]

Adieu, dear Ruskin, many kind adieus. Mary adds her kind regards and best wishes to mine.

Yours ever,
T. Carlyle

Letter 36. Original in the Yale University Library. Hitherto unpublished.

5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea
30 July 1874

Dear Ruskin,

Thanks again and again for these little showers of manna immediate from the skies, which do not wholly cease but still come to us now & then,—last night from Florence, for example, and some nights before from Perugia; wonderful things for us amid the dusty tumult of London in our little cell at Chelsea here.

The gorgeous splendour of your room at Florence, and, alas, your own wild gloom of mind while lodged in it, as if it were the blackest nook of Malebolge;[2] that is a strange but not unaccountable phenomenon, such as easily occurs in this wicked perversity of a world! But we can expect a still more emphatic and scorching Fors from you on that account, which is some benefit of good out of evil.

On the whole, is it not evident for one thing, that the Italian summer is getting far too hot for you; that in practical truth you ought to bundle up your note-books and come home, or nearer home? I really think so, but must not take upon me to advise. If at the "tomb of Simon de Montfort," in more tolerable air (in France, as that may well be), you could pick up for us any vestige of clearer evidence or intelligibility about that notable and to me inconceivable man, it would beyond doubt be a welcome thing. But wasn't he clearly cut down and chopped into mince meat, flesh and bones, at Eavesham; how then can he have got buried near Paris? Furthermore, have you not heard that his Son was "The blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green"? What a Dark-Lantern is history, or worse, even, a Lantern of darkness; absolutely tenebrific, instead of illuminative!

The one real object of this Letter is to tell you that we are still here, & likely to be so for at least a fortnight longer, hungry therefore for your immediate missives if you will have the charity still to send such. Froude is expect[ed] here Saturday (the day after tomorrow) stays for three weeks, and in the course of the first, must settle many small but important things with me, in case we should not meet again in this world. I am confident he will do real good in his colonial expedition; good, even in the emigration line, in spite of the pot boiling over. These things go on at an inconceivably slow rate; a century, nay ten centuries, representing what would actually be but a minute in the real pot, dashing its fat into the fire. Patience, my Friend, patience; we must have patience.

Before leaving Florence I must ask you to take another look at Michael Angelo's Statue of David and explain to me a little (on your return) how it is that

[1] See Ruskin's two public letters to the Royal Institute of English Architects, 20 May and 12 June 1874, in Ruskin's *Works*, xxxiv. 513-16.

[2] The eighth circle of Hell in Dante's *Inferno*.

the gigantic plaster case of this Figure (in our Brompton Boilers here) is more impressive to me than any statue I have ever seen.[1]

Not a word more; there is an intrusion jingling at the door, peremptorily saying cease. Mary sends her love.

Yours ever, dear Ruskin,
T. Carlyle

This is the last letter from Carlyle to Ruskin that I have found. After its date Ruskin wrote Carlyle over thirty letters, in addition to a considerable number which he wrote to Carlyle's niece, Mary Aitken, who continued to act as her uncle's secretary. A few of these contain references to later letters from Carlyle, and Carlyle's hopes and fears for Ruskin were frequently expressed in a running commentary through letters to his brother John and others in the years that remained. He was greatly concerned about Ruskin's poor health, especially with the often-recurring spells of brain-fever. And it was futile to admonish Ruskin to be patient. Even in conversation he could be decidedly annoying, with his nervous nature, his sensitiveness and flightiness, and his high-flown strain of flattery.[2] His books on "high Art" were "very hard reading, abstruse and fine-spun, yielding me next to no spiritual nourishment when I sum them up".[3] There was the fear that he would turn to Roman Catholicism at last, as he had already apparently turned to spiritualism, a "horrible absurdity" which Carlyle detested.[4] And Ruskin in his folly expected "a millenium to be provided by the St. George Guild," to Carlyle a ridiculous thing which he thought was a joke at first and to which he would give nothing. On the other hand, "Ruskin is full of friendliness and is aiming as if at the very stars"; few of his generation had been gifted with "such a splendid outfit of faculty and opportunity". His morality was

[1] Carlyle refers to a copy of the "David" in the South Kensington Museum. For Ruskin's comments, see his letter to Carlyle of 16 August 1874 in Ruskin's *Works*, xxxvii. 130-31. With his acute Scottish susceptibility to heat, Carlyle must have found the Museum rooms uncomfortable.

[2] Letters of 6 and 17 November 1874. From the originals in the National Library of Scotland, 528/19, 20.

[3] Letter of 9 September 1875. From the original in the National Library of Scotland, 528/36.

[4] Letters of 14 October 1877, 15 February and 1 March 1879. From the originals in the National Library of Scotland, 528/78, 102, 104.

the highest and purest. Mixed with the wonderful folly which appeared in him too often, there was " a celestial brightness " in Ruskin.[1]

[1] Letters of 14 October 1877, and letters of 26 October and 6 November 1875 and 11 October 1878, National Library of Scotland, 528/41, 42, 88. William Allingham, *A Diary* (London : Macmillan, 1907), pp. 245, 263.

HERMOCRATES THE SYRACUSAN[1]

By H. D. WESTLAKE, M.A.
HULME PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ξύνεσιν οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ τε ἱκανὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ἐπιφανής

(THUCYDIDES)

A NOTEWORTHY feature of Greek overseas expansion to which attention is frequently drawn is that in some cases a new city established abroad outstripped its mother-city at home. It is perhaps more remarkable that these colonies, which were founded on sites chosen for their agricultural or commercial advantages and enjoyed political independence from the outset, did not soon become the chief centres of power in the Greek world and that old Greece did not become a political backwater long before the Hellenistic Age. Many reasons might be suggested to explain why this development did not take place, but the most influential single factor was probably the political instability of the overseas settlements, where strife between rival factions, often combined with strife between neighbouring cities, was even more prevalent and intense than in the Greek homeland. Although Greeks settled abroad felt pride in their membership of the Greek race and reached a high standard of literary and artistic achievement, they were less firmly rooted in their homes, because their cities, being comparatively new, had not accumulated a store of local traditions. Most of them lived in close contact with non-Greek peoples with whom they probably intermarried more than was generally admitted. A sharp division often developed between the leading families responsible for founding the colony, who owned most of the land, and the mixed mass of the population usually eager for any revolutionary change. In Sicily all these influences were at work, and in addition the tyrants sowed the seeds of future unrest by forcibly transplanting whole populations from one city to another and by enfranchising

[1] The substance of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 15th of January, 1958.

their discharged mercenaries. Both these practices led almost inevitably to conflict between the new citizens and the old. The Sicilian Greeks often proved strangely reluctant to submit to discipline or to make any sustained effort in their own defence until their liberty and prosperity were almost lost. They produced few great leaders who were not tyrants because they were seldom willing to accept unpalatable advice. That these defects imposed a severe handicap upon even the most enlightened of those who sought to lead them is seen in the career of Hermocrates.

It is not surprising that Greek Sicily seemed in the fifth century to be a tempting prey to two great powers, Athens and Carthage. As soon as Athens became a naval power, some Athenians began to show an interest in the west, Themistocles being apparently one of these. There seems to have been much talk of western expansion at Athens during the Pentacontaetia, but it is a mistaken assumption from later events to imagine that many Athenians seriously contemplated an attempt to conquer Sicily.[1] Pericles is said to have disapproved of Athenian imperialism in the west.[2] He did, however, favour the establishment of Athenian influence there, as elsewhere, provided that military action was not involved : he played a leading part in the foundation of Thurii and was probably responsible for the alliances with Leontini and Rhegium concluded perhaps about 445.[3] These cities and others of Chalcidian origin had begun to feel their security threatened by the Syracusans, who since the expulsion of the tyrants had won for themselves a dominating position in eastern Sicily and were suspected of imperialist ambitions.[4] The Athenians evidently welcomed the opportunities afforded by these alliances to establish their influence firmly in Sicily and to curb the increasing power of the Syracusans,

[1] Cf. Plut. *Per.* 20.3-4, where the general picture of Athenian ambitions is extravagantly rhetorical and the reference to Sicily looks forward to the schemes of Alcibiades.

[2] Plut, *Per.* 20.3-21.1, cf. *Alcib.* 17.1.

[3] M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, i². (1946), 57 and 58. They were renewed in 433 ; the year in which they were originally made is uncertain. In 458/7 the Athenians had concluded an alliance with Elymian Segesta.

[4] Cf. Diod. 12.30.1, where the military preparations of the Syracusans and the extent of their ambitions seem to be exaggerated. H. Wentker, *Sizilien und Athen* (1956), 78-81, overrates the significance of this passage.

who, it was believed, might well send naval and financial aid to the Dorians of the Peloponnese.[1]

When the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war was imminent, the Spartans instructed their western allies to provide ships for service against the Athenians (2.7.2). The number of ships which they demanded from the west is not certain but was probably two hundred; if so, the figure was outrageously optimistic.[2] No ships were sent, or apparently even built, and by 427 the cities allied with Athens were at war with the Syracusans and their allies (3.86.2). The antecedents of this war are unknown, but it may be that the Syracusans were the aggressors, feeling that the Athenians, weakened by the plague, would be unable to intervene. The Chalcidian states proved no match for their enemies and appealed to Athens for naval support. Twenty ships were sent, which, arriving in Sicilian waters in the autumn of 427, could do no more than keep the war alive by engaging in operations of limited scope. A further appeal to Athens at the end of 426 led to the dispatch of a larger fleet of forty ships. It sailed in the following spring but, because it became involved in the fighting at Pylos, did not reach Sicily until the campaigning season of 425 had ended. The scale of Athenian intervention now evidently alarmed the smaller cities on both sides, and in 424 they began to negotiate with the object of terminating an exhausting war conducted in the selfish interests of the great powers. The initiative came from Gela, a Dorian ally of Syracuse.[3] The Geloans concluded an armistice with their neighbours and kinsmen the Camarinaeans, who, though Dorians, were fighting on the Athenian side, and subsequently a general peace conference was held at Gela. Its opening stages were contentious and unpromising, each delegate pressing the grievances of his own city (4.58).

[1] 1.36.2, cf. 44.3; 2.7.2; 6.6.2; 6.18.1. (These and all subsequent references in which the name of the author is not stated are to Thucydides.)

[2] In 2.7.2, where the text is disputed, this figure, which appears in Diod. 12.41.1, has been supplied by emendation. Even if the Siceliots and Italiots could have built two hundred ships, the training of skilled crews to man them would have been a long and laborious task.

[3] This detail, which seems to be authentic, is supplied by Timaeus, *F Gr Hist* 566 F 22.

It is at this point that Hermocrates makes his first appearance in the *History* of Thucydides, introduced merely as " Hermocrates, the son of Hermon, whose speech also proved to be the most convincing " (4.58). Thucydides gives no details of his career hitherto [1] and includes at this stage no estimate of his ability. The quality of the man is at once apparent from the quality of his speech (4.59-64).[2]

His plea is for Siceliot unity. The Greeks of Sicily, having a common name and a common heritage, should settle their differences by negotiation and should unite in resisting intervention by outsiders such as the Athenians, who sought to exploit these differences in the pursuit of their own imperialist ambitions. It would be hazardous to claim that this doctrine had never been preached before or was never preached again ; but there was perhaps only one leading figure in Siceliot history whose policy was based on similar principles, namely Timoleon, who was not a Siceliot by birth. Apart from the primary loyalty of a Greek to his own city, there was the somewhat artificial bond between Dorian and Dorian, Ionian and Ionian, and also the broader feeling of kinship between all Greeks, varying considerably in intensity from time to time, which divided them from " barbarians ". That the Greeks of Sicily were united by living in one island and were thereby isolated from the inhabitants of all other lands, Greek and barbarian, was an idea that did not develop naturally and was not easily fostered ; it ignored the fact that Sicily was shared with four other races. To Hermocrates,

[1] He must already have been a political figure of some standing when appointed as a delegate to this Congress. There is, however, no foundation for the view of Wentker, op. cit. 81 with n. 366, that he had been the prime mover of an imperialist policy since before 440.

[2] The vexed question of Thucydidean speeches cannot be discussed here, but it is surely beyond doubt that Thucydides was well-informed about the content of this speech and of the later speeches of Hermocrates at Syracuse and Camarina. They strike an individual note, and none reads as though Thucydides has merely improvized *τὰ δέοντα*. On the other hand, Steup in an appendix on 4.58 (Anhang, 287-8) goes too far when he claims to find in certain unusual turns of phrase in these speeches authentic traces of the style of Hermocrates. The version of the speech at Gela produced by Timaeus (*F Gr Hist* 566 F 22) was evidently no more than a frigid rhetorical exercise bearing no relation to what was actually said, though it is known only from the criticisms of it by Polybius.

however, the Siceliot cities were so closely linked with one another that in a striking phrase he describes feuds between them as *stasis*, as though they were rival factions in a single community.[1]

There was not much difficulty in making out a convincing case for the view that the aims of the Athenians were selfish and that the presence of their forces could harm all Siceliots, including the Chalcidians in whose interests they had ostensibly intervened. It is, however, significant that Hermocrates does not attempt to stir up moral indignation against Athens : imperialism, he says, is natural and excusable, and his criticism is rather of those who make insufficient efforts to avoid becoming its victims (4.61.5-6). Whatever his personal views may have been, it was politic to adopt this attitude towards imperialism because his own city could not claim a blameless record in the decades since the expulsion of the Deinomenids. As spokesman of the most powerful city, he was confronted with a delicate situation demanding skilful handling. Had an Athenian taken part in the debate, as at Camarina nine years later, it would have been easy for him to have argued that the motive of the Syracusans in supporting the proposed settlement was to give themselves a free hand to coerce their Chalcidian neighbours when the Athenians had withdrawn. Hermocrates fully appreciated the suspicion with which his city was regarded : he maintains that the Syracusans despite the strength of their position are prepared to sacrifice the opportunity of damaging their enemies and to make concessions for the common benefit of the Siceliots because they realize the impossibility of controlling destiny (4.59.1 ; 64.1).[2] This argument, which cannot have been at all reassuring, suggests that he is trying to evade an embarrassing practical issue ; and most modern scholars consider the whole speech to be insincere.[3] They believe that Hermocrates, while professing to promote the interests of all Greek Sicily, in fact cared only for those of Syracuse ; and Syracusan relations with Leontini after the Athenian withdrawal may be thought to confirm this interpretation. It must, however, be remembered that he was never

[1] 4.61.1, cf. 64.5, *οἰκείου πολέμου*, and the somewhat similar view of Plato, *Rep.* 5.470 b-d. [2] He uses a similar argument in his speech at Camarina, 6.78.2.
[3] From A. Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens* ii (1874), 8, to Wentker, op. cit. 125-6.

in a position to direct the policy of Syracuse as Pericles had directed that of Athens. He was sent to Gela with instructions to negotiate a settlement if he could, and evidently he was himself convinced that peace was desirable. It may well be that some Syracusans favoured its conclusion because they hoped to exploit the situation created thereby in the interests of Syracusan imperialism, but his speech does not prove that he was one of them, and it cannot be assumed that he prompted, or indeed approved of, subsequent action taken by Syracuse. There is no evidence that at any time in his career he encouraged aggression by the Syracusans against other Siceliots, and on one occasion, which will be noted below, he was the prime mover of a decision that involved renouncing an opportunity for aggression.[1] His speeches and actions suggest rather that he strove to prevent local wars because they led to intervention from abroad, and it was for this reason that he tried to create his new kind of patriotism. Thucydides, who cannot be considered gullible, seems to have been convinced of his sincerity, especially as he draws a distinction between the opinions of Hermocrates and those of the other delegates to the Congress, who were concerned only with the interests of their own cities (4.58).

This speech contains only one definite recommendation, which is of a general character and largely negative : that the Siceliots should stop fighting one another, thereby depriving the Athenians of their excuse for intervention. It may be that Thucydides has chosen to omit some details from his version of the speech, but Hermocrates probably considered that it would be unwise to make specific proposals, at any rate at this stage, because the delegates from other cities must not be allowed to feel that Syracuse was dictating to them. They must be left free to conclude with one another whatever agreements they wished, founded on the general principles established by his speech.

The Congress agreed to end the war on a *status quo* basis, and after the cities allied with Athens had informed the Athenian generals and obtained their consent, peace was concluded (4.65.1-2). Had this agreement been made half a century later, it would probably have included a clause guaranteeing the

[1] See below, p. 257.

autonomy of all the signatories, and much uncertainty would have been avoided. At this time, however, the type of general pacification known as κοινὴ εἰρήνη had not yet been developed in Greece: the doctrines of Hermocrates may possibly have contributed to its birth. Thucydides adds that Syracuse ceded Morgantina to Camarina in return for an agreed sum of money. Morgantina was an insignificant place, and his inclusion of this detail is somewhat surprising. He probably mentions it in order to show that the Syracusans made a gesture designed to prove their acceptance of the principles established at the Congress by making a concession to a weaker neighbour. No other agreements are mentioned, and it seems unlikely that any were made.[1] There is evidence that the Athenian alliances with Siceliot cities were not formally abrogated.[2] Thus, while Hermocrates gained his first objective in removing for the moment the pretext of Athenian intervention, he made scarcely any progress towards the creation of a union of all Greek Sicily.

Not long afterwards there occurred at Leontini a characteristically Siceliot outbreak of civil strife, which led to intervention by Syracuse. The upshot was that Leontini virtually lost its identity as an independent state and that while some Leontines were content to migrate to Syracuse, most of them established themselves at two forts in Leontine territory, whence they conducted hostilities against the Syracusans (5.4.2-4). The opinions of Hermocrates on this Syracusan intervention are not recorded; but he can hardly have approved of it.[3] Nothing was more likely to revive Athenian interest in Sicily, and indeed in 422 a diplomatic mission led by Phaeax was sent from Athens with orders to persuade as many Siceliot cities as possible to take

[1] A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, iii (1956), 523, who believes that agreements were reached between other cities but have been omitted by Thucydides (op. cit. iii. 522), classes the reference to the agreement between Syracuse and Camarina among "relicts of notes made at the time" by Thucydides on unimportant details. One possible reason for its inclusion has been given above, but subsequent events also suggest that no other detailed agreements are mentioned because none was made, and that the Congress achieved no more than a general agreement in principle.

[2] 5.4.5; 6.6.2; 6.50.4. The alliance with Camarina may have been an exception (6.82.1); Thucydides is not altogether consistent on this point (6.88.2, cf. 75.3, 79.1).

[3] E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, iii (1892), 69.

up arms against Syracuse in support of the Leontines. Camarina and Acragas agreed to take action, but Phaeax failed at Gela, whereupon he abandoned his mission realizing that he would not convince the rest (5.4.1 and 5-6). He must have felt that without military aid from Athens only an alliance including almost all Siceliot cities could successfully challenge Syracuse. Yet the series of events at Leontini, together with a similar episode at Messana (5.5.1), and the success of Phaeax at Camarina and Acragas, left the Athenians in no doubt that the Siceliots were as divided as ever and that excuses for intervention could be found at will.[1]

Hermocrates is next mentioned when Thucydides gives an account of a debate in the Syracusan assembly in the summer of 415, after the great Athenian expeditionary force had already sailed for Sicily. Most of this report consists of speeches by two leading figures, Hermocrates and the demagogue Athenagoras (6.32.3-41). The former seeks to convince his audience that the Athenians are really on their way and intend to conquer Sicily (33.1-2), that prospects of defeating them are good (33.3-6), that energetic measures for defence must be put into operation without delay (34.1-9). More than half of the speech is devoted to the last of these, so that, in contrast to his speech at Gela, it consists largely of positive recommendations. Missions must be sent to the Sicels, to the rest of Sicily, to Italy and even to Carthage, and the Spartans and Corinthians must be urged to send help at once and to resume the war in Greece. Much more surprising is the proposal that the Syracusans together with their Siceliot allies should send every available ship to Taras and the Iapygian promontory to intercept the Athenian fleet before it could reach the Italian coast. Hermocrates points out the difficulties that this move would cause to the Athenians, who in his view would not even leave Corcyra if they knew that the crossing was to be contested. He also claims that unexpected resistance at this stage would damage Athenian morale. His plan is indeed a bold one, and modern scholars have with good reason doubted not only its wisdom but also its feasibility.[2] At

[1] Cf. the highly coloured picture drawn by Alcibiades in 6.17.2-4.

[2] Notably G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2 (1904), 1300-1.

a time when navigation and communications had reached only a primitive stage of development, there were palpable dangers to the Siceliots in trying to intercept so far from their own bases an enemy whose seamanship they could not hope to match. One factor that surely rendered the plan impracticable was lack of time. The fleet of the Athenians and their allies was already assembling at Corcyra when Hermocrates made his speech (6.42.1, cf. 32.3), and in his closing words he declares emphatically that the enemy " has almost arrived " (6.34.9). It would surely have been impossible to muster a fleet including contingents from other Siceliot states (6.34.4) and then to make the long voyage to the heel of Italy before the Athenians left Corcyra. It is also clear that at this time the number of ships fit for immediate service and the number of trained crews available to man them cannot have been sufficient to enable the Syracusans to undertake an operation on a large scale in distant waters. In the war ended by the Congress of Gela the highest recorded number of ships that they and their allies succeeded in mustering was a little over thirty (4.25.1). In the war now about to begin they at first made no attempt to use their fleet (cf. 6.52.1), and it was only in its closing months that, after long preparation and practice and with assistance from their Peloponnesian allies, they were eventually able to challenge the Athenian fleet in conditions that gave them a considerable advantage.

Why then did Hermocrates put forward his ambitious plan? It may be that he completely misjudged the strategic situation,[1] but a man of his sagacity and experience (6.72.2) can hardly have been blind to the difficulties of putting his plan into operation.[2] It might be argued that Thucydides has incorporated in a single speech the substance of several speeches made by Hermocrates on the defence of Sicily and that this proposal was made at an earlier meeting of the assembly. This explanation would, however, meet only the objection that it could not be put into operation in time to be effective. A more convincing explanation

[1] Cf. Busolt, loc. cit.

[2] A. W. Gomme, *Gnomon*, xxx (1958), 17, rightly criticizes J. de Romilly, *Histoire et raison chez Thucydide* (1956), 61 and 195, n. 1, for subscribing to the view that the plan of Hermocrates " is stated in order to make clear the folly of the Athenian expedition ".

is suggested by two passages in the speech. In the first he declares that he will state his plan although the Syracusans are not likely to adopt it promptly because of their habitual inertia (6.34.4); in the second that his plan is the best course of action but that if the Syracusans reject it they must 'make every other preparation for the war with all possible speed' (6.34.9). From these passages it appears that, confronted with the difficult task of persuading the Syracusans to take energetic measures to meet the danger that was almost upon them, he adopted the debating manoeuvre of proposing action demanding of them efforts far greater than any that they were willing to make; he calculated that, as the supporters of Athenagoras were hostile towards him, the assembly would not accept the whole of any defence programme proposed by him but, if given the opportunity to reject his plan to intercept the Athenians in Italy, would be more likely to adopt at least some of the measures recommended in the earlier part of his speech. Nicias had, with an entirely different object in view, used somewhat similar tactics some months earlier when he tried to deter the Athenians from embarking upon their expedition by insisting that it required military resources on a very large scale (6.19.2; 24.1).

While Hermocrates deals mainly with the needs of the situation by which the Syracusan assembly was confronted on the day of the debate, the speech contains echoes of his views on wider issues. He naturally begins by emphasizing the danger to his own city (6.33.1-2), but the defence measures that he proposes are designed to safeguard all Greek Sicily and not Syracuse alone. One passage implies censure of the Siceliots for having failed to respond to the Spartan demand for aid in the Archidamian war (6.34.8); it thus suggests that in his view the destruction of Athenian power, which would automatically have ended Athenian intervention in Sicily, was more important than the establishment of a Syracusan hegemony while the Athenians were diverted from the west by their preoccupations in Greece. Hence his idea of a united Sicily, though much less prominent here than in his speeches at Gela and Camarina, is not forgotten.

Hermocrates failed to convince many of the Syracusans, and some treated the subject of the debate with contempt and

ridicule (6.35.1). Folly of an even more dangerous kind is seen in the speech of Athenagoras (6.36-40), whom Thucydides pictures as a typical demagogue, introducing him in terms very similar to those in which he introduces Cleon.[1] The speech is almost a caricature, in which the ignorance, overconfidence and violent prejudice of the speaker are mercilessly exposed.[2] His main contention is that the rumours of impending attack have been fabricated by the oligarchs with the intention of creating panic and thus overthrowing the democracy and enslaving the populace. He does not attack Hermocrates directly but makes his charges against the young oligarchs, whom he addresses as ὦ νεώτεροι (6.38.5) and blames for the prevalence of civil strife. His preoccupation with party issues helps to explain why the Syracusans often rejected the advice of enlightened leaders such as Hermocrates. To unite Greek Sicily was indeed a formidable task when the population of Syracuse was so deeply divided.

An unnamed general, who apparently presided over the assembly, then closed the debate without permitting any further speeches (6.41.1). He claimed that he and his colleagues had the situation in hand and would make preparations to repel the enemy, even though these preparations might prove to be unnecessary. The proposal to send a fleet to Italy is not mentioned (6.41.2-4). Hermocrates had at least secured an official assurance that the threat of invasion would not be ignored, but scarcely any action seems to have been taken until the Athenian fleet was known to have arrived at Rhegium (6.45 ; 73.2).

Because the speech of Athenagoras throws some light on rivalries between factions at Syracuse, it is appropriate to discuss briefly at this point the position of Hermocrates in local politics. There is no doubt that the Syracusan constitution was at this time a democracy : [3] Thucydides expressly states that it was (7.55.2), and all issues of major importance were referred to the popular assembly. Nevertheless a programme of far-reaching

[1] Athenagoras, 6.35.2 ; Cleon, 3.36.6.

[2] There is no antilogy in which Thucydides enlists the sympathy of his readers more plainly on behalf of one of the two speakers.

[3] The evidence is conveniently summarized by P. A. Brunt, *C.R.* vii (1957), 244-5, in a review of Wentker, op. cit.

reforms, based on the principles of extreme democracy, was introduced in 412 by the demagogue Diocles, who, like Athenagoras, was an opponent of Hermocrates. Thereafter most of the magistrates were chosen by lot, and archons instead of generals presided at meetings of the assembly.[1] It is clear, therefore, that before and during the Athenian invasion the Syracusan democracy was less extreme than that of Athens and might even be described as moderate.[2] There is no reason to believe that Hermocrates disapproved of the constitution as it was before the reforms of Diocles and would have welcomed its overthrow. If a tradition of somewhat doubtful authenticity be accepted, he was a member of an aristocratic family ;[3] but so were almost all the leaders of the Athenian democracy before the Peloponnesian war. The widely accepted view that he favoured oligarchy is based partly on the fact that among his opponents were the two demagogues Athanagoras and Diocles and partly on the speech of the former. Athenagoras associates him by implication with the young oligarchs who are accused of plotting to overthrow the democracy but, as has already been pointed out, does not attack him directly.[4] This absence of direct attack in a speech full of unrestrained violence is significant : Athenagoras would surely have denounced him personally as a would-be subverter of the democracy if this charge would have carried any conviction. It was the practice of demagogues to brand as

[1] W. Hüttl, *Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus* (1929), 86.

[2] A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (1956), 136-7, believes that Diocles restored full democracy, which had been in operation before the Syracusans, on the advice of Hermocrates, reduced the number of generals from fifteen to three (6.72.4-73.1). There is, however, no evidence that this measure, which was certainly desirable on military grounds, had any political significance, or that the work of Diocles consisted merely of restoration.

[3] The evidence consists of a fragment of Timaeus (*F Gr Hist* 566 F 102a), who, regarding the Athenian disaster in Sicily as a punishment for the impious mutilation of the Hermae, declares that the man chiefly responsible for the disaster was Hermocrates the son of Hermon, ὃς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομηθέντος διὰ πατέρων ἦν. Timaeus was addicted to antiquarian flights of fancy and may have inferred the alleged descent of the family from Hermes only from the names of Hermocrates and his father.

[4] By no stretch of the imagination could Hermocrates, who had represented Syracuse at Gela nine years earlier, be included among νεώτεροι whose age disqualified them from being legally appointed to any office (6.38.5).

enemies of the people all who did not share their own extreme views. The political sympathies of Hermocrates were probably no more oligarchical than those of Nicias and other Athenians who, while accepting the principles of democracy, disapproved of demagogues such as Cleon and Hyperbolus. One reason for the dearth of information about his position in local politics may be that he stood aloof from feuds between factions, and the absence of party support may have proved a handicap to him when trying to secure the adoption of his proposals.

During the two years of conflict that ended with the destruction of the Athenian forces he served Syracuse and Sicily more effectively in the assembly than on the field of battle. Knowing the weaknesses of his fellow-countrymen, he was always at hand to give wise counsel and to fortify their morale in times of adversity by encouragement and example. The first occasion on which he is known to have performed this service was in the autumn of 415, when overconfidence and lack of discipline caused the Syracusans to be defeated in their first major battle (6.63-71). After the Athenians had withdrawn, he made a speech in the assembly of which Thucydides gives a summary in *oratio obliqua* (6.72.2-5). Instead of reproaching the Syracusans for their neglect of his advice, he consoled them by arguing that they had not lacked courage and that their inferiority to a far more experienced enemy had not proved so great as might have been expected. He urged the enlargement of their hoplite force and the introduction of compulsory training: it appears that few had undergone training voluntarily. He also proposed that the board of fifteen generals should be replaced by a smaller board with discretionary powers. The reasons given for this proposal show that hitherto the generals had had to consult the assembly on military matters to an extent harmful both to security and to efficiency. The assembly adopted all these recommendations, electing three generals with full powers including Hermocrates himself (6.73.1). Nevertheless the Syracusans did not yet fully appreciate the urgency of the situation: the fifteen generals were not superseded by Hermocrates and his two colleagues until the following summer when their term of office expired (6.96.3).

Meanwhile Hermocrates was called upon to exercise his powers of persuasion at Camarina. The Camarinaeans were suspect because they alone of the Dorians in Sicily had been allied with Athens during the Archidamian war. In 415 they had refused to receive the Athenians (6.52.1) and had sent a token force of cavalry and archers to Syracuse, which took part in the battle fought there in the autumn (6.67.2) ; but the insignificance of this force intensified the suspicions of the Syracusans, who feared that the Athenian victory might encourage Camarina to desert them. They heard that the Athenians were making a fresh approach to the Camarinaeans, and a counter embassy was accordingly sent under the leadership of Hermocrates (6.75.3-4). Both embassies attended a meeting of the assembly, and the occasion is marked by another Thucydidean antilogy, the first speech being delivered by Hermocrates and the second by the Athenian spokesman Euphemus (6.76-87).

The speech of Hermocrates resembles his speech at Gela in that the keynote of both is the need for Siceliot unity. To argue convincingly that the Athenian aim is purely selfish, namely the enslavement of Sicily, is now even easier, but it is as difficult as ever for him to dispel fears of Syracusan imperialism. He admits that some Siceliots may, through envy or apprehension, wish Syracuse to be weakened, but he maintains that destiny cannot be so conveniently controlled (6.78.2). Siceliots fighting on the Syracusan side will be fighting for their own survival and not for that of Syracuse, and their prospects of success will be much brighter while Syracusan power remains unbroken. Camarina will be the next victim and will not be saved by electing to remain neutral now (6.78.3-4). The end of the speech contains a threat of reprisals if the Camarinaeans refuse to listen and Syracuse is victorious (6.80.4). He claims that such reprisals would not constitute aggression but punishment for treachery.

The speech of Euphemus is mainly an attempt to convince the Camarinaeans that Syracusan imperialism is much more dangerous to them than Athenian because Syracuse is their neighbour whereas Athens is far away. He also defends Athenian policy in Sicily and elsewhere against the charges of Hermocrates.

The speech is an interesting example of Thucydidean method, for in no other antilogy does the second speaker concentrate to such an extent on seeking to refute the first.[1]

Almost all the arguments of Hermocrates and Euphemus are applicable to Siceliots other than the Camarinaeans. The issue that both speakers have most at heart is whether the Siceliot cities generally will support Syracuse or Athens or neither.[2] Upon the decisions of these cities much depended. It is tempting to envisage the struggle at Syracuse as one between the Athenians on the one side and the Syracusans with Peloponnesian support on the other, but Thucydides frequently emphasizes the influence of other Siceliots.[3] Here he is following his practice of foreshadowing through the medium of speeches a factor that is to be prominent in the subsequent narrative.

The Camarinaeans eventually decided to support neither side at present (6.88.2), adopting one course of action from which Hermocrates had tried to deter them (6.80.1-2). Thus his mission was unsuccessful. Yet the analysis of their feelings given by Thucydides suggests that they favoured the Athenians rather than the Syracusans (6.88.1), so that, though failing to win their co-operation, Hermocrates at least performed a valuable service in securing that they chose neutrality.

The period of a few months in 414 during which he held the office of general was the unhappiest phase of his career. Epipolae, the strategic key to Syracuse, was at once lost. While the retiring generals were evidently guilty of having neglected to prepare for the defence of this plateau, Hermocrates and his colleagues allowed themselves to be surprised and outmanoeuvred by the enemy (6.96-7). The situation continued to deteriorate rapidly. The Syracusan hoplites proved so much inferior to the Athenians in discipline and skill that the generals first decided not to commit their forces to any further engagements on a large scale and later, when they had twice failed to cut the Athenian wall now being

[1] Cf. the able discussion by J. de Romilly, op. cit. 186-94.

[2] Both refer to the attitude of " the others ", cf. 78.4 and 80.3 (Hermocrates). 87.1 and 5 (Euphemus).

[3] Cf. 7.1.5 ; 7.2 ; 25.9 ; 32.1-2 ; 33.1-2 ; and his statement in 58.4, which might seem superfluous, that the Syracusans supplied more troops than the other Siceliots.

built across Epipolae, had to withdraw their entire army within the city defences. There seemed to be no hope, with the forces at present available, of preventing the completion of the Athenian wall (6.98-102). Already consultations about surrender were being held among the Syracusans themselves and also with Nicias.[1] In an age when the technique of siege operations was so undeveloped that the defenders of small towns such as Potidaea and Plataea were reduced to surrender only by hunger, it was highly discreditable to the Syracusans that they so soon found themselves in a situation that appeared to be desperate. It is not surprising that in the prevailing atmosphere of depression and suspicion their generals were made scapegoats. Hermocrates and his colleagues were dismissed on the ground that the present crisis was the outcome of " either their ill luck or their treachery " (6.103.4). Of their three successors two appear again as generals when the demagogue Diocles was at the height of his power.[2] Hence it is likely that popular agitation, led perhaps by Athenagoras, caused the dismissal of Hermocrates and his two colleagues. Charges of treachery were in the demagogic tradition. If an impeachment followed, the defendants must have been acquitted : the influence of Hermocrates continued to be considerable, while Sicanus, who was dismissed with him, apparently served on the board of generals in the following year.[3]

When Hermocrates makes his next appearance in the narrative of Thucydides, only a few months have passed, but meanwhile the situation has been transformed. The blockade has been broken, and on land the Syracusans have gained the initiative. While various factors contributed to this change, the most important was undoubtedly the success of the Spartan Gylippus in organizing the defence. Thucydides nowhere suggests that

[1] 6.103.3-4, cf. 7.2.1 ; Plut. *Nic.* 18.11-12.

[2] Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.8, Eucles and Heracleides (the son of Aristogenes, who is to be distinguished from Heracleides, the son of Lysimachus, who was a colleague of Hermocrates, 6.73.1).

[3] 7.46 ; 50.1 ; 70.1 ; Diod. 13.13.2 and 6. An achievement accredited by Polyaenus (1.43.1) to Hermocrates during his generalship is the suppression of a slave revolt by means of trickery. This sensational story has been justifiably suspected (Freeman, op. cit. iii. 673-4), but it may well have some foundation.

Gylippus possessed the inspiring personality of Brasidas, and according to Timaeus the Syracusans found him uncongenial (*F Gr Hist* 566 F 100). Nevertheless he quickly succeeded where Hermocrates and others had failed: discipline was greatly improved and substantial aid was obtained from other parts of Sicily. It was not the only occasion in their history that the Siceliots showed a surprising willingness to obey a leader from the Greek homeland. In the spring 413 Gylippus and Hermocrates together urged the Syracusans to undertake the formidable task of challenging the Athenians at sea. From the summaries of their speeches given by Thucydides in *oratio obliqua* it appears that Gylippus spoke with characteristically Laconic brevity, leaving to Hermocrates the responsibility of producing convincing arguments (7.21.2-4). The latter pointed out that the Athenians had not always possessed their skill in seamanship but had acquired it compulsorily in consequence of the Persian invasion. He also argued that the very unexpectedness of their resistance at sea would give the Syracusans an advantage that would discount their lack of experience.[1] The combined pressure of Gylippus, Hermocrates and others overcame any misgivings that may still have been felt, and at long last the Syracusans prepared to use their fleet (7.21.5).

This collaboration between Gylippus and Hermocrates, which must have benefited the Syracusan cause in other ways during the last months of the campaign, throws light upon the character of the latter. Inevitably, and perhaps justifiably, he must have felt that the failures of the Syracusans during his generalship were due to their own shortcomings and not to faulty leadership on his part. Nevertheless he was prepared to use all his energy and influence in support of Gylippus, who had in effect supplanted him. He gave his services unsparingly wherever they seemed likely to further the cause of Greek Sicily, and, unlike Alcibiades, he did not allow personal considerations to blunt his patriotism. He is not known to have played any part in the work of preparing the fleet for action, which was largely a Corinthian achievement, or to have fought in the sea battles in the Great Harbour. The only record of his participation in

[1] Cf. 6.34.6-8, where he uses a similar argument.

military operations at Syracuse after his dismissal from the generalship is a statement by Diodorus (13.11.4) that he commanded a detachment of picked troops in the night battle on Epipolae. This body after a spirited resistance was put to flight (7.43.4-5), and the Athenian advance was first stemmed by the Boeotians.

The last of his services during this campaign was one that substantially influenced the course of history. Had he not acted as he did, the defeat of the Athenians would have been grievous enough, involving the loss of the entire fleet operating in Sicily ; as it was, they lost almost the whole of their army as well and suffered an overwhelming disaster. The story, which is a very famous one, illustrates both his resourcefulness and his persistency in refusing to abandon his aims despite seemingly insuperable obstacles. The Athenians had planned to withdraw from Syracuse to Catana by land if they failed in their final attempt to break out of the Great Harbour (7.60.2) and as soon as the sea battle was lost, they made preparations to put this plan into operation during the ensuing night. Hermocrates, appreciating that the Athenians could still be formidable if allowed to escape to some other part of Sicily, urged the generals to have the principal roads blocked and guarded before nightfall. The generals agreed with his views but were convinced that their orders would not be obeyed by troops already beginning to celebrate the victory together with a feast of Heracles which happened to fall on that day. Accordingly he sent some of his friends at dusk to the Athenian camp, where they shouted a warning to delay the withdrawal and make it in daylight after due preparation because the roads were already guarded. As he intended, these messengers were mistaken for traitors who had long been in touch with Nicias, and their false message was believed to be authentic. The Athenians postponed their evacuation, and from that moment their fate was sealed.[1]

Thucydides does not record the views of Hermocrates on the proposal that Nicias and Demosthenes should be executed (7.86.2-4). According to Diodorus and Plutarch he was howled

[1] 7.73.1-74.1. The versions of the story by Diodorus (13.18.3-5), Plutarch (*Nic.* 26.1-2) and Polyaenus (1.43.2) add nothing of any substance.

down in the assembly when he tried to dissuade the Syracusans from treating the generals and other prisoners inhumanely, declaring that the honourable use of victory was superior to victory itself.[1] Although this story is almost certainly derived from a Sicilian source which might tend to exaggerate the magnanimity of Hermocrates, there is no adequate reason to reject it. His principal aim was now achieved in that Greek Sicily was safe from the menace of Athenian intervention, at any rate for some years. Savage reprisals against helpless prisoners would contribute nothing towards the permanent removal of Athenian imperialism.

Although the Syracusans were weakened by their efforts of the last two years, their self-confidence and their prestige must have been enormously enhanced. It might have been expected that they would now proceed to exploit their victory by attempting to establish a hegemony over eastern Sicily and that, if the plea of Hermocrates for Siceliot unity had been designed to pave the way for Syracusan expansion, he would have been active in encouraging the pursuit of these ambitions. Syracuse, however, does not appear to have made a determined effort even to punish the Siceliots who had sided with the Athenians. Hostilities against the Chalcidian cities dragged on for several years, but Catana maintained its independence, apparently without much difficulty, aided by Athenians who had evaded their pursuers during the withdrawal from Syracuse or had later escaped from captivity.[2] This absence of vigorous action by the Syracusans against their local enemies cannot be attributed wholly to exhaustion or to their tendency to relaxation of effort when not directly threatened, for they sent a fleet to co-operate with the Peloponnesians in the Aegean. Thucydides expressly states that Hermocrates was the principal instigator of this decision, urging the Siceliots to "join in completing the destruction of Athens" (8.26.1). The Peloponnesians expected naval assistance from Sicily (8.2.3), and indeed the Syracusans could have

[1] Diod. 13.19.5-6; Plut. *Nic.* 28.3. The story quoted by Plutarch (*Nic.* 28.5) from Timaeus (*F ⌣r Hist* 566 F 101) that Hermocrates contrived to give the Athenian generals the opportunity to commit suicide in prison is certainly false.

[2] 7.85.4; Lys. 20.24-26; Paus. 7.16.5; Diod. 13.56.2.

been charged with ingratitude if they had not attempted to repay their allies for the substantial aid received during the Athenian invasion. To Hermocrates, however, the fleet surely did not sail only to discharge a debt of honour, nor was the enterprise merely an act of retaliation. Athenian intervention had always constituted the greatest obstacle to his plan for Siceliot unity, and here was an opportunity to remove this danger for ever. He was himself chosen to command the expeditionary force, an appointment perhaps supported by his political opponents, who may already have been planning to take advantage of his absence. The size of this force, which consisted of twenty Syracusan and two Selinuntine ships together with a body of hoplites, may seem modest, even niggardly, but because its members were veterans of the battles in the Great Harbour, it was an asset of great value to the inexperienced Peloponnesians. Even its size is not unimpressive when it is remembered that no Greek state other than Athens sent a larger expedition to a distant theatre of war throughout the fifth century.

The Syracusans distinguished themselves in their first engagement in Asia (8.28.2) and continued to show fighting qualities superior to those of other contingents. Their effectiveness was undoubtedly due in some degree to the leadership of Hermocrates. Yet while he overshadowed his colleagues on the Peloponnesian side both in ability to win the loyalty of his troops and in strength of character, his influence upon the course of the campaign was limited by his subordination to a succession of Spartan admirals. The principal reason why so little progress was made against the weakened and disunited Athenians was that relations became increasingly strained between the Peloponnesians and the satrap Tissaphernes, who had become their paymaster but soon began to withhold part of the agreed subsidy with the object of prolonging the war and weakening both sides. Hermocrates, speaking on behalf of the whole fleet, protested more vigorously than any of the other commanders against this humiliating and dishonest treatment, and his protests caused Tissaphernes to make some concessions. Unlike most of his colleagues, he refused Persian bribes, and his forthright attitude gained him the lasting enmity of the satrap (8.29.2 ; 45.3 : 85.3).

Feeling against Astyochus, the Spartan admiral, and Tissaphernes subsequently became so embittered that mutinous disturbances occurred at Miletus, in which the Syracusans played a leading part (8.78 ; 83-4). The malcontents blamed Astyochus because he did not engage the Athenian fleet in a major battle and had not secured the payment of the Persian subsidy ; they were even more enraged against Tissaphernes for failing either to pay his Greek allies or to produce the Phoenician fleet which was to have aided them. Some officers supported the action of their men, but the attitude of Hermocrates towards these disturbances is not recorded. He doubtless approved of attempts to bring pressure upon Tissaphernes, but it seems unlikely that he encouraged insubordination against the supreme commander of the Peloponnesian forces, though the weakness and incompetence of Astyochus evidently exasperated him.

When Astyochus soon afterwards sailed for home, having completed his term of office, he took with him an agent representing Tissaphernes, who was anxious to exculpate himself in the eyes of the Spartans (8.85.1-2). At the same time a second mission left for Sparta consisting of a Milesian embassy and Hermocrates. The Milesians were sent to denounce the satrap, while Hermocrates " intended to show that Tissaphernes was ruining the Peloponnesian cause in association with Alcibiades and was playing a double game ".[1] Thucydides does not

[1] 8.85.2. Thucydides refers at this point to the dismissal and banishment of Hermocrates (8.85.3), and Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xliii (1908), 608-12, and Steup in an appendix on this passage (Anhang, 295-6) maintain that he was already an exile when he accompanied the Milesian envoys to Sparta (summer, 411). They reject the evidence of Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.1.27-31), who dates his banishment much later (autumn, 410), and of Diodorus (13.39.4), who states that he fought at Cynossema. The problem is a complicated one, but it seems preferable to accept the view of many scholars (cf. T. Lenschau, *R.E.* viii (1912), col. 886) that Thucydides is here referring to a later event out of its chronological context. A similar anticipation occurs in the preceding chapter, where he mentions the death of the Spartan Lichas which occurred some time afterwards (8.84.5, cf. 87.1, where Lichas accompanies Tissaphernes to Aspendus). It is true that τὰ τελευταῖα in 8.85.3 means not " subsequently " but " finally " : the phrase marks the culmination of the quarrel between Hermocrates and Tissaphernes, and Thucydides perhaps completes his account of this quarrel here because he does not intend to mention it again. The accusation of Tissaphernes that Hermocrates had asked him for money is doubtless a malicious distortion of the

record how these missions fared: in any book other than the eighth he might well have included speeches summarizing the debate at Sparta. According to Xenophon, however, the charges made by Hermocrates against Tissaphernes were supported by Astyochus and were accepted by the Spartans as proven (*Hell.* 1.1.31). If, as is probable, these denunciations of Tissaphernes contributed to the Spartan decision to transfer the fleet from his satrapy to that of Pharnabazus, Hermocrates helped to terminate a situation which might well have led to the disintegration of the Peloponnesian forces in Asia.[1]

After Mindarus had moved from Ionia to the Hellespont, he had to face an Athenian fleet much better handled than his own and accordingly suffered a series of defeats. In the major battles at Cynossema and Cyzicus the Syracusans seem to have fought with more skill or more determination than their allies. At Cynossema they pressed the enemy hard at first but were later forced back and took to flight when they saw the rest of the fleet routed; only one of their ships fell into enemy hands, whereas the losses sustained by most other contingents were proportionately much higher.[2] At Cyzicus, where the Peloponnesians were overwhelmed, only the Syracusan ships were burned by their crews before the Athenians could seize them; all the rest of the fleet was captured by the enemy (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.18).

Xenophon provides one last glimpse of Hermocrates with the Syracusan fleet in Asia, and it is an illuminating one (*Hell.* 1.1.27-31). The passage is characteristic of its author, commonplace in thought and expression, probably inaccurate in detail, and yet portraying most graphically the relations between troops on active service and their leaders, a subject of which he had much personal experience. While the Syracusans were at

protests which Hermocrates had made when pressing for the payment of the Persian subsidy (8.29.2; 45.3).

[1] Cf. 8.99. Presumably Mindarus, the successor of Astyochus, had orders to sail for the Hellespont if Tissaphernes did not at once give the Peloponnesians wholehearted support.

[2] 8.104-6. At Abydos, where the Peloponnesians were again defeated, the Syracusans fought on the left wing (Diod. 13.45.7); nothing further is known of their part in the battle.

Antandrus building ships to replace those lost at Cyzicus, news arrived that their generals had been banished by popular vote. There is every reason to believe both that this action was taken on political grounds at the instigation of Diocles, who had recently introduced his programme of constitutional reform, and that the loss of the Syracusan ships at Cyzicus afforded a pretext for the impeachment. Hermocrates, acting as spokesman for his colleagues at a mass meeting of the Syracusans, protested that they had been banished unjustly and illegally, but rejected the clamorous demand that they should continue in office and defy the decision of the home government.[1] This refusal by the generals to consider only their own interests is highly creditable : had they consented, a state of civil war would have been created similar to that between the Athenian forces at Samos and the Four Hundred at Athens, and the consequences might have proved harmful to the Peloponnesian cause. The generals did, however, agree to remain in command until the arrival of their successors, and most of the trierarchs undertook to secure that the sentences of banishment should be revoked when the fleet returned home. Xenophon draws a lively picture, which must surely be authentic, of the devotion to Hermocrates felt by his officers and men and of their regret that he would no longer lead them : he had made himself immensely popular by his care for their interests and by his practice of taking them into his confidence and welcoming their advice. When the new generals arrived, he visited Pharnabazus with whom he had evidently established friendly relations, for the satrap provided him unasked with money for effecting his return to Syracuse.[2] Later he joined an embassy

[1] The sentence in which Xenophon describes the reactions of this military assembly (*Hell.* 1.1.28, *οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται*) has been given a political interpretation by some scholars (Freeman, op. cit. iii. 430-1 ; Busolt, op. cit. iii. 2.1549 with n. 1) which is surely unwarranted. Xenophon, who had himself attended many meetings of this kind, is only pointing out that the generals were most enthusiastically supported by the more responsible members of the audience whose military status gave them the greatest influence. He is not suggesting that the crews of the ships were even lukewarm, much less that they were eager to be rid of their generals for political reasons. The whole passage implies solidarity in support of Hermocrates and his colleagues (cf. 29, *οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου*).

[2] Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.31 ; Diod. 13.63.2.

sponsored by Pharnabazus which was on its way to the Persian court,[1] but he cannot have accompanied it far, for shortly afterwards he was back in Sicily.

It is regrettable that the closing stages of his career are known only from the account of Diodorus (13.63 ; 75.2-9), who seldom provides a coherent picture of important characters. His actions after his return to Sicily seem to be reported accurately enough, but the motives underlying them are not at all clear. The recent Carthaginian invasion, in which Selinus and Himera were destroyed, had exposed once more the weakness and disunity of Greek Sicily, and the efforts of the Syracusans under Diocles to save their Siceliot kinsmen had lacked determination and military skill. Hermocrates seems to have felt himself called upon to serve his fellow-countrymen against Carthage as he had served them against Athens.[2] With money supplied by his friend Pharnabazus he built five ships at Messana and hired 1,000 mercenaries.[3] Then after a vain attempt to secure his recall through the influence of his friends at Syracuse, he proceeded to pillage the Carthaginian province with a force now swollen to 6,000. Though he was not strong enough to besiege the fortified towns of Motya and Panormus, his raids were very successful and inflicted severe damage. He must have appreciated the danger of provoking another Carthaginian offensive. For the present, however, his success created a favourable impression at Syracuse, where the populace was now willing to restore him, though opposition was to be expected from his enemies ; for the future he may have believed that his old dream of a united Greek Sicily could best be realized by launching a

[1] Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.13. Xenophon gives a confused account of this embassy, and it is not clear why Hermocrates was invited to join it or why he left it.

[2] E. Meyer, *G. d. A.* v (1902), 70. There was even a possibility of co-operation between Carthage and Athens : they were in diplomatic contact in 406 (cf. K. F. Stroheker, *Historia*, iii (1954-5), 163-71).

[3] Lenschau, op. cit. col. 885, maintains that the ships were built in Messenia and are to be identified with the Sicilian ships which took part in the recovery of Pylos (Diod. 13.64.5 with Wesseling's emendation). It is, however, difficult to believe that the phrase αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίας refers to ships built in the Peloponnese. On other occasions ships from Sicily assisted the Peloponnesians in operations off the coast of Greece (8.91.2).

crusade against Carthage.[1] The booty gained during these raids must have been very welcome, for apart from the funds provided by Pharnabazus his financial resources can hardly have been substantial and must have been strained by the growth of his army.

He then took a further step designed to win support at Syracuse, and also to discredit his opponents there, by recovering the bones of the Syracusans killed at Himera and having them conveyed to their homes. This action caused an outbreak of popular anger against Diocles, who, when in command of the force sent to relieve Himera, had left the Syracusan dead unburied. Diocles was now banished, but Hermocrates was not recalled and withdrew to western Sicily : according to Diodorus (13.75.5) the Syracusans were afraid that, if given a position of authority, he would establish a tyranny.[2] Soon afterwards he returned to the vicinity of Syracuse at the instigation of his partisans in the city, who seem to have misjudged the feelings of the populace. Being apparently led to believe that if once he showed himself inside the walls he would be acclaimed by a great majority of the Syracusans, he pressed forward by night with a few men and arrived at the gate of Achradina, which his partisans had already occupied. While he was awaiting the rest of his army, large numbers of armed Syracusans gathered in the market-place and fighting broke out in which he and most of his followers were killed. The survivors were tried and banished except some of the most seriously wounded who escaped impeachment because their relations alleged that they were dead. Among these was the future tyrant Dionysius.

Diodorus reports the suspicion that Hermocrates intended to make himself a tyrant without stating whether or not it had any foundation and without providing his readers with adequate evidence to enable them to judge the issue for themselves. Presumably the authority upon which his narrative is based was equally non-committal. Greek statesmen who displayed marked ability and individuality tended to incur charges of plotting to

[1] A similar policy was later adopted by the elder Dionysius, though his motives were almost certainly more selfish.

[2] The validity of these suspicions is discussed below.

establish a tyranny, the stock example being that of Alcibiades. It was almost inevitable that the actions of Hermocrates since his return to Sicily gave rise to such accusations by his fellow-citizens, who had had long experience of his initiative and determination. There is no justification for assuming that, because hitherto he had subordinated personal ambition to patriotic zeal—a view that this paper has sought to establish—the suspicion that he now intended to make himself tyrant should necessarily be dismissed as groundless. It would doubtless have suited him best to have occupied a position similar to that of Pericles and to have been in effective control of Syrascusan policy without being invested with dictatorial powers. The Syracusan democracy, however, was far less developed than that of Athens, and his intimate knowledge of its defects must surely have convinced him that he could accomplish little if his authority were limited and insecure. He might have been content with the status of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, but apparently no one who was not a tyrant held this office before the time of Dion.[1] Syracuse had proved dangerously vulnerable in the earlier stages of the Athenian siege before the Peloponnesians intervened, and the more recent Carthaginian invasion suggested that these weaknesses might even have been intensified by the reforms of Diocles. Another Carthaginian invasion might shatter the prosperity of Greek Sicily or even drive the Greeks from the island. Conscious of all this, Hermocrates may well have concluded that only by becoming tyrant would he enjoy sufficient authority to enable him to put into effect the drastic and unpopular measures which the situation demanded. The benevolent tyranny of Gelon, who was for generations remembered with affection by the Syracusans,[2] afforded a precedent.

Hermocrates is one of Thucydides' few heroes. That he is a member of this select company may seem surprising, because

[1] E. Pais, *Storia dell' Italia antica e della Sicilia* i² (1933), 431 expresses the reasonable view that because Hermocrates would have had to assume a dictatorship of some kind, the question of his status is not one of much consequence. It is, however, very doubtful whether at Syracuse in this period any position other than that of tyrant could have been devised which would have satisfied his needs. [2] Cf. Plut. *Timol.* 23.7; [Dio Chrys.] 37.21.

his personal successes are far outweighed by his failures, at any rate during the phases of his career about which any information has been preserved. At Gela his plea for Siceliot unity was virtually ignored. When nine years later he urged the Syracusans to prepare energetically for defence before the arrival of the Athenian expedition, his advice was to a large extent unheeded. His speech at Camarina proved only partly successful, and the brief period of his generalship was one of almost uninterrupted failure for the Syracusans. Although Sicilian tradition, unwilling to admit that Syracuse survived mainly through the intervention of Gylippus and the Peloponnesians, pictures Hermocrates as its saviour,[1] the more objective account of Thucydides shows that, valuable as his contribution was, it was not the deciding factor. In Asia his uncompromising opposition to Tissaphernes and his inspiring leadership of the Siceliot contingent were highly creditable, but in all three major engagements at sea he was on the losing side, and in the third the whole Siceliot fleet was lost. Finally, after his return to Sicily his attempt to secure reinstatement at Syracuse ended in a somewhat inglorious debacle.

Why then among contemporary leaders does he occupy a place of honour in the *History* of Thucydides next only to Pericles and perhaps to Brasidas? It is hardly necessary to point out that Thucydides does not measure greatness solely by the criterion of success;[2] but while Pericles and Brasidas had their failures, they were far more consistently successful than Hermocrates. It might be argued that Thucydides has based his estimate of Hermocrates largely upon knowledge of achievements in Sicily not mentioned in his work because they were not relevant to the history of the Peloponnesian war. He was doubtless in possession of information about Hermocrates which he has for this reason not chosen to record, though leading figures in whom he was particularly interested tend to receive rather fuller treatment than would seem strictly necessary, as

[1] This was undoubtedly the standpoint of Timaeus, cf. especially *F Gr Hist* 566 F 102, with Jacoby's commentary on F 99-102, and Polyb. 12.25k2 and 11 (where Polybius, though severely critical of Timaeus, evidently accepts his estimate of Hermocrates).

[2] His admiration for Antiphon (8.68.1-2) affords a striking illustration of this.

may be seen in the case of Themistocles. Yet Hermocrates is pictured to so large an extent as the embodiment of the qualities in a leader most valued by Thucydides [1] that his high estimate of him seems to be founded mainly upon the evidence included in the *History*.

Hermocrates is presented as a man of complete integrity and high principles which he refused to abandon or compromise, preferring to accept the handicaps which they imposed. Because Syracuse was politically immature, it was far more difficult for him than for Pericles to win for himself a position of personal authority which would have enabled him to put his enlightened ideas into practice. Unlike the successors of Pericles whose methods Thucydides condemns (2.65.10), he refused to seek personal advancement by gratifying the mob. On the contrary, like Pericles himself, he was prepared to endanger his own popularity and prospects by advocating measures which he knew to be unwelcome but believed to be desirable. His attitude towards what may be termed political morality contrasts with that of Timoleon, who later for a short time achieved in Sicily much that Hermocrates had attempted in vain. Timoleon, though enjoying the advantages of a dictatorship, was willing in the public interest to adopt unscrupulous methods when dealing with unscrupulous opponents; [2] Hermocrates evidently was not. It was only at the end of his life that the shortsightedness and ingratitude of the Syracusans led him to resort to force in an attempt to win personal ascendancy, and even then, if the interpretation given above has any validity, he was actuated by patriotism rather than by ambition.

He was indeed a true patriot; and true patriotism was rare enough among politicians during the Peloponnesian war. It was a quality seen rather in military leaders who played little or no part in politics such as Phormio, Demosthenes and Lamachus. Hermocrates, however, was a patriot of an unorthodox kind in that his patriotism was not limited by the boundaries of his own city-state but embraced all Greek Sicily, foreshadowing in some

[1] G. F. Bender, *Der Begriff des Staatsmannes bei Thukydides* (1938), 82-103, shows that Hermocrates has all the hallmarks of statesmanship as defined in 2.60.5. [2] Cf. my *Timoleon and his relations with tyrants* (1952), *passim*.

degree the panhellenism of the fourth century. It was perhaps this conception more than anything else that won for him the admiration of Thucydides; for to Thucydides the intellectual quality of a statesman was crucial,[1] while of the intellectually gifted only the greatest, such as Pericles, possessed the spark of genius, a combination of idealism with imaginative vision, capable of creating original and illuminating ideas. Hermocrates' dream of a united Sicily, abortive though it was, is scarcely less noble, and certainly less conventional in Greek eyes, than the ideals of the Funeral Speech.

In addition to moral and intellectual qualities Thucydides demands of his great men practical ability and a capacity for leadership. As a strategist and tactician Hermocrates appears from the extant record of his career to have been undistinguished, and the judgment of Thucydides on his military qualities (6.72.2, *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ τε ἱκανὸς γενόμενος*) does not credit him with any natural aptitude in this sphere and seems a trifle lukewarm. On the other hand, there can be no doubt of his personal bravery, to which Thucydides refers in much stronger terms in the same passage (*ἀνδρείᾳ ἐπιφανής*). Not only was he courageous himself in difficult situations but also indefatigable in his efforts to sustain the morale of others, as he showed during the Athenian siege and while commanding the Siceliot contingent in Asia. The impact of his personality is perhaps most clearly discernible from the passage of Xenophon, to which reference has already been made, describing the scene when the news of his banishment was received. In his contacts with others he seems to have shown the genial warmth of Brasidas rather than the cold austerity of Pericles.

Should Thucydides' picture of Hermocrates be accepted as a true one? Unfortunately its authenticity cannot be tested by examining the evidence of other contemporary authorities. As might have been expected, Hermocrates apparently made much less impression upon public opinion in Greece than Brasidas, who became a sort of bogy in Attic comedy,[2] and it is perhaps

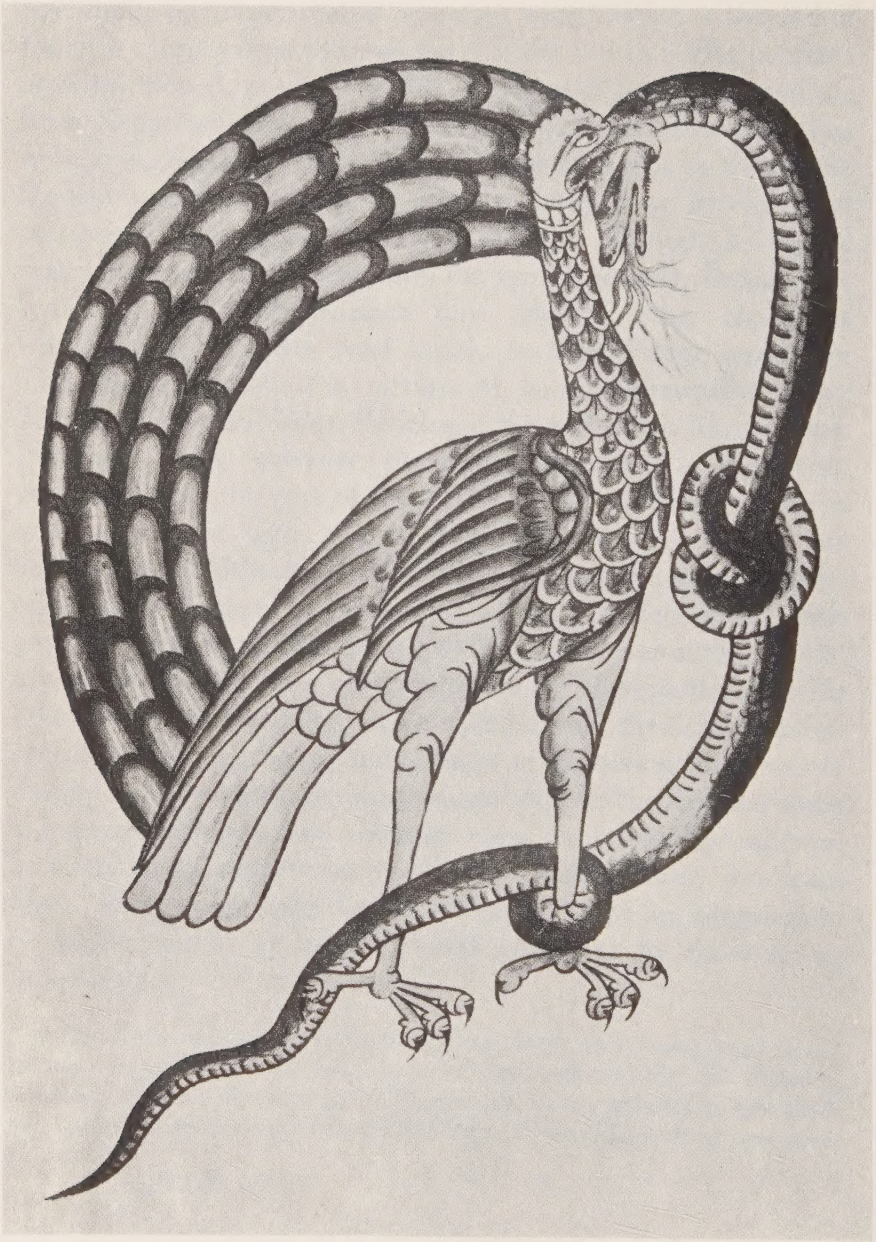
[1] Bender, op. cit. 95 n. 261, draws attention to the prominence of *ξύνεσις* in Thucydidean judgements on great leaders.

[2] Aristoph. *Wasps*, 475, cf. 288; *Peace*, 281-3 and 640.

not wholly fortuitous that in no extant work written at the end of the fifth century or at the beginning of the fourth is Hermocrates even mentioned, apart from that of Thucydides. Later writers from Xenophon onwards could have been, and most doubtless were, influenced by Thucydides' estimate of him or by that of the Sicilian tradition, which, as already noted, was led by local patriotism to exaggerate his achievements.[1] It might be argued that Thucydides has treated him too sympathetically because the Syracusan assembly banished him. Several other characters whose ability is rated most highly in the *History* were, like Thucydides himself, the victims of an unappreciative mob: Themistocles, Alcibiades, Pericles at the end of his life, perhaps Phormio. It is, however, possible, and in my opinion very probable,[2] that the part of the *History* in which Hermocrates is most prominent were composed before 410, the year of his banishment. Although Thucydides should not be assumed to be infallible, his general reputation for impartiality does afford some grounds for accepting his picture of Hermocrates as authentic and unprejudiced. A more specific indication of impartiality is his rejection of the temptation, to which the Sicilian tradition succumbed, to represent Hermocrates as the saviour of Syracuse despite his own admiration for him and despite the fact that some at least of his information about him was doubtless derived from Siceliots whose reports can hardly have been entirely free from bias. As in other cases, he has refused to allow his judgment to be warped either by his own predilections or by those of his informants.

[1] Plato, who during his visits to Syracuse must have heard much about Hermocrates and may well have discussed him with the historian Philistus, introduces him as a character in the *Timaeus* and *Critias* and was to have made him the principal speaker in the third dialogue of the trilogy, which was never written.

[2] *C.Q.* viii (1958), 108-9.



A full-page miniature from the Rylands manuscript of the Commentary of St. Beatus on the Apocalypse. Spain, 12th cent.
It illustrates a legend, given on the previous folio, concerning the destruction of Satan by Christ.